MACAULAY

WILLIAM PITT

R. F. WINCH

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WILLIAM PITT

William Pitt

By

Lord Macaulay

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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'Essay on the Life and Writings of Addison,' and
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North's ministry

Rockingham's ministry 1782 - 3 months

Fox & North Coalition ministry 178
to De

Pitt's ministry 1784 - 1807.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following paragraphs are an excellent introduction to this literary gem:

The Pitts, both father and son, seem to have had an unusual attraction for Macaulay, and he wrote of them with more sympathy and insight than of any other statesman, except King William III. His biography of the younger Pitt is perhaps the most perfect thing that he has left. It is not an historical essay, but a genuine "Life," and it is impossible to overpraise either the plan or the execution. Nearly all the early faults of his rhetorical manner have disappeared; there is no eloquence, no declamation, but a lofty moral impressiveness which is very touching and noble. It was written when he saw his own death to be near, and although he had none of Johnson's "horror of the last," there is a depth and solemnity of tone in this "Life" to which he never attained before. Pitt's own stately and majestic character would seem to have chastened and elevated his style, which recalls the masculine dignity and gravity and calm peculiar to the higher strains of Roman eloquence. The little work deserves printing by itself on "papier de Chine," in Elzevir type, by Lemerre, Quantin, or the Librairie des Bibliophiles. (English Men of Letters. J. Colter Morison.)

The style "was eminently his own, but his own not by strange words, or strange collocation of words, by phrases of perpetual occurrence, or the straining after original and

striking terms of expression. Its characteristics were vigour and animation, copiousness, clearness, above all, sound English, now a rare excellence. The vigour and life were unabating ; perhaps in that conscious strength, which cost no exertion, he did not always gauge and measure the force of his own words. Those who studied the progress of his writing might perhaps see that the full stream, though it never stagnated, might at first overflow its banks ; in later days it ran with a more direct undivided torrent. His copiousness had nothing tumid, diffuse, Asiatic ; no ornament for the sake of ornament. As to its clearness, one may read a sentence of Macaulay twice to judge of its full force, never to comprehend its meaning. His English was pure, both in idiom and in words, pure to fastidiousness ; not that he discarded, or did not make free use of the plainest and most homely terms (he had a sovereign contempt for what is called the dignity of history, which would keep itself above the vulgar tongue), but every word must be genuine English, nothing that approached real vulgarity, nothing that had not the stamp of popular use or the authority of sound English writers, nothing unfamiliar to the common ear." (Dean Milman's *Memoir of Lord Macaulay*, p. 22.)

WILLIAM PITT.

Born at Hayes near Bromley, Kent, May 28, 1759.

William Pitt, the second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of Lady Hester Grenville, daughter of Hester, Countess Temple, was born on the 28th of May 1759. The child inherited a name which, at the time of his birth, was the most illustrious in the civilized world, and was pronounced by every Englishman with pride, and by every enemy of England with mingled admiration and terror. During the first year of his life, every month had its illuminations and bonfires, and every wind brought some messenger charged with joyful tidings and hostile standards. In Westphalia the English infantry won a great battle which arrested the armies of Louis the Fifteenth in the midst of a career of conquest: Boscawen defeated one French fleet on the coast of Portugal: Hawke put to flight another in the Bay of Biscay: Johnson took Niagara: Amherst took Ticonderoga: Wolfe died by the most enviable of deaths under the walls of Quebec: Clive destroyed a Dutch armament in the Hoogley, and established the English supremacy in Bengal: Coote routed Lally at Wandewash, and established the English supremacy in the Carnatic. The nation, while loudly applauding the successful warriors, considered them all, on sea and on land, in Europe, in America, and in Asia, merely as instruments which received their direction from one superior mind. It was the great William Pitt, the great commoner, who had vanquished French marshals in Germany, and French

admirals on the Atlantic; who had conquered for his country one great empire on the frozen shores of Ontario, and another under the tropical sun near the mouths of the Ganges. It was not in the nature of things that popularity such as he at this time enjoyed should be permanent. That popularity had lost its gloss before his children were old enough to understand that their father was a great man. He was at length placed in situations in which neither his talents for administration nor his talents for debate appeared to the best advantage. The energy and decision which had eminently fitted him for the direction of war were not needed in time of peace. The lofty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which had made him supreme in the House of Commons, often fell dead on the House of Lords. A cruel malady racked his joints, and left his joints only to fall on his nerves and on his brain. During the closing years of his life, he was odious to the court, and yet was not on cordial terms with the great body of the opposition. Chatham was only the ruin of Pitt, but an awful and majestic ruin, not to be contemplated by any man of sense and feeling without emotions resembling those which are excited by the remains of the Parthenon and of the Colosseum. In one respect the old statesman was eminently happy. Whatever might be the vicissitudes of his public life, he never failed to find peace and love by his own hearth. He loved all his children, and was loved by them; and, of all his children, the one of whom he was fondest and proudest was his second son.

Childhood.

The child's genius and ambition displayed themselves with a rare and almost unnatural precocity. At seven, the interest which he took in grave subjects, the ardour with which he pursued his studies, and the sense and vivacity of his remarks on books and on events, amazed his parents and instructors. One of his sayings of this date was reported to his mother by his tutor. In August 1766, when the world was agitated by the news that Mr. Pitt had become

Earl of Chatham, little William exclaimed, "I am glad that I am not the eldest son. I want to speak in the House of Commons like papa." A letter is extant in which Lady Chatham, a woman of considerable abilities, remarked to her lord, that their younger son at twelve had left far behind him his elder brother, who was fifteen. "The fineness," she wrote, "of William's mind makes him enjoy with the greatest pleasure what would be above the reach of any other creature of his small age." At fourteen the lad was in intellect a man. Hayley, who met him at Lyme in the summer of 1773, was astonished, delighted, and somewhat overawed, by hearing wit and wisdom from so young a mouth. The poet, indeed, was afterwards sorry that his shyness had prevented him from submitting the plan of an extensive literary work, which he was then meditating, to the judgment of this extraordinary boy. The boy, indeed, had already written a tragedy, bad of course, but not worse than the tragedies of his friend. This piece is still preserved at Chevening, and is in some respects highly curious. There is no love. The whole plot is political; and it is remarkable that the interest, such as it is, turns on a contest about a regency. On one side is a faithful servant of the Crown, on the other an ambitious and unprincipled conspirator. At length the king, who had been missing, re-appears, resumes his power, and rewards the faithful defender of his rights. A reader who should judge only by internal evidence would have no hesitation in pronouncing that the play was written by some Pittite poetaster at the time of the rejoicings for the recovery of George the Third in 1789.

Education.

The pleasure with which William's parents observed the rapid development of his intellectual powers was alloyed by apprehensions about his health. He shot up alarmingly fast; he was often ill, and always weak; and it was feared that it would be impossible to rear a stripling so tall, so slender, and so feeble. Port wine was prescribed

by his medical advisers; and it is said that he was, at fourteen, accustomed to take this agreeable physic in quantities which would, in our abstemious age, be thought much more than sufficient for any full-grown man. This regimen, though it would probably have killed ninety-nine boys out of a hundred, seems to have been well suited to the peculiarities of William's constitution; for at fifteen he ceased to be molested by disease, and, though never a strong man, continued, during many years of labour and anxiety, of nights passed in debate and of summers passed in London, to be a tolerably healthy one. It was probably on account of the delicacy of his frame that he was not educated like other boys of the same rank. Almost all the eminent English statesmen and orators to whom he was afterwards opposed or allied, North, Fox, Shelburne, Windham, Grey, Wellesley, Grenville, Sheridan, Canning, went through the training of great public schools. Lord Chatham had himself been a distinguished Etonian; and it is seldom that a distinguished Etonian forgets his obligations to Eton. But William's infirmities required a vigilance and tenderness such as could be found only at home. He was therefore bred under the paternal roof. His studies were superintended by a clergyman named Wilson; and those studies, though often interrupted by illness, were prosecuted with extraordinary success. Before the lad had completed his fifteenth year, his knowledge both of the ancient languages and of mathematics was such as very few men of eighteen then carried up to college. He was therefore sent, towards the close of the year 1773, to Pembroke Hall, in the university of Cambridge. So young a student required much more than the ordinary care which a college tutor bestows on undergraduates. The governor, to whom the direction of William's academical life was confided, was a bachelor of arts named Pretyman, who had been senior wrangler in the preceding year, and who, though not a man of pre-

Entered of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1773.

possessing appearance or brilliant parts, was eminently acute and laborious, a sound scholar, and an excellent geometrician. At Cambridge, Pretyman was, during more than two years, the inseparable companion, and indeed almost the only companion, of his pupil. A close and lasting friendship sprang up between the pair. The disciple was able, before he completed his twenty-eighth year, to make his preceptor bishop of Lincoln and dean of St. Paul's; and the preceptor showed his gratitude by writing a Life of the disciple, which enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work of its size in the world.

Pitt, till he graduated, had scarcely one acquaintance, attended chapel regularly morning and evening, dined every day in hall, and never went to a single evening party. At seventeen, he was admitted, after the bad fashion of those times, by right of birth, without any examination, to the degree of Master of Arts. But he continued during some years to reside at college, and to apply himself vigorously, under Pretyman's direction, to the studies of the place, while mixing freely in the best academic society.

M.A., spring of 1776.

The stock of learning which Pitt laid in during this part of his life was certainly very extraordinary. In fact, it was all that he ever possessed; for he very early became too busy to have any spare time for books. The work in which he took the greatest delight was Newton's Principia. His liking for mathematics, indeed, amounted to a passion, which, in the opinion of his instructors, themselves distinguished mathematicians, required to be checked rather than encouraged. The acuteness and readiness with which he solved problems was pronounced by one of the ablest of the moderators, who in those days presided over the disputations in the schools, and conducted the examinations of the Senate-House, to be unrivalled in the university. Nor was the youth's proficiency in classical learning less remarkable. In one respect, indeed, he appeared to dis-

Subsequent studies at Cambridge.

advantage when compared with even second-rate and third-rate men from public schools. He had never, while under Wilson's care, been in the habit of composing in the ancient languages; and he therefore never acquired that knack of versification which is sometimes possessed by clever boys whose knowledge of the language and literature of Greece and Rome is very superficial. It would have been utterly out of his power to produce such charming elegiac lines as those in which Wellesley bade farewell to Eton, or such Virgilian hexameters as those in which Canning described the pilgrimage to Mecca. But it may be doubted whether any scholar has ever, at twenty, had a more solid and profound knowledge of the two great tongues of the old civilized world. The facility with which he penetrated the meaning of the most intricate sentences in the Attic writers astonished veteran critics. He had set his heart on being intimately acquainted with all the extant poetry of Greece, and was not satisfied till he had mastered Lycophron's Cassandra, the most obscure work in the whole range of ancient literature. This strange rhapsody, the difficulties of which have perplexed and repelled many excellent scholars, "he read," says his preceptor, "with an ease at first sight, which, if I had not witnessed it, I should have thought beyond the compass of human intellect."

To modern literature Pitt paid comparatively little attention. He knew no living language except French; and French he knew very imperfectly. With a few of the best English writers he was intimate, particularly with Shakspeare and Milton. The debate in Pandemonium was, as it well deserved to be, one of his favourite passages; and his early friends used to talk, long after his death, of the just emphasis and the melodious cadence with which they had heard him recite the incomparable speech of Belial. He had indeed been carefully trained from infancy in the art of managing his voice, a voice naturally

clear and deep-toned. His father, whose oratory owed no small part of its effect to that art, had been a most skilful and judicious instructor. At a later period, the wits of Brookes's, irritated by observing, night after night, how powerfully Pitt's sonorous elocution fascinated the rows of country gentlemen, reproached him with having been "taught by his dad on a stool."

His education, indeed, was well adapted to form a great parliamentary speaker. One argument often urged against those classical studies which occupy so large a part of the early life of every gentleman bred in the south of our island is, that they prevent him from acquiring a command of his mother tongue, and that it is not unusual to meet with a youth of excellent parts, who writes Ciceronian Latin prose and Horatian Latin Alcaics, but who would find it impossible to express his thoughts in pure, perspicuous, and forcible English. There may perhaps be some truth in this observation. But the classical studies of Pitt were carried on in a peculiar manner, and had the effect of enriching his English vocabulary, and of making him wonderfully expert in the art of constructing correct English sentences. His practice was to look over a page or two of a Greek or Latin author, to make himself master of the meaning, and then to read the passage straight forward into his own language. This practice, begun under his first teacher Wilson, was continued under Pretyman. It is not strange that a young man of great abilities, who had been exercised daily in this way during ten years, should have acquired an almost unrivalled power of putting his thoughts, without premeditation, into words well selected and well arranged.

Of all the remains of antiquity, the orations were those on which he bestowed the most minute examination. His favourite employment was to compare harangues on opposite sides of the same question, to analyse them, and to observe which of the arguments of the first speaker were

refuted by the second, which were evaded, and which were left untouched. Nor was it only in books that he at this time studied the art of parliamentary fencing. When he was at home, he had frequent opportunities of hearing important debates at Westminster; and he heard them, not only with interest and enjoyment, but with a close scientific attention resembling that with which a diligent pupil at Guy's Hospital watches every turn of the hand of a great surgeon through a difficult operation. On one of these occasions, Pitt, a youth whose abilities were as yet known only to his own family and to a small knot of college friends, was introduced on the steps of the throne in the House of Lords to Fox, who was his senior by eleven years, and who was already the greatest debater, and one of the greatest orators, that had appeared in England. Fox used afterwards to relate that, as the discussion proceeded, Pitt repeatedly turned to him, and said, "But surely, Mr. Fox, that might be met thus;" or, "Yes; but he lays himself open to this retort." What the particular criticisms were Fox had forgotten; but he said that he was much struck at the time by the precocity of a lad who, through the whole sitting, seemed to be thinking only how all the speeches on both sides could be answered.

One of the young man's visits to the House of Lords was a sad and memorable era in his life. He had not quite completed his nineteenth year, when, on the 7th of April 1778, he attended his father to Westminster. A great debate was expected. It was known that France had recognized the independence of the United States. The Duke of Richmond was about to declare his opinion that all thought of subjugating those states ought to be relinquished. Chatham had always maintained that the resistance of the colonies to the mother country was justifiable. But he conceived, very erroneously, that on the day on which their independence should be acknowledged the

greatness of England would be at an end. Though sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, he determined, in spite of the entreaties of his family, to be in his place. His son supported him to a seat. The excitement and exertion were too much for the old man. In the very act of addressing the peers, he fell back in convulsions. A few weeks later his corpse was borne, with gloomy pomp, from the Painted Chamber to the Abbey The favourite child and namesake of the deceased statesman followed the coffin as chief mourner, and saw it deposited in the transept where his own was destined to lie.

His elder brother, now Earl of Chatham, had means sufficient, and barely sufficient, to support the dignity of the peerage. The other members of the family were poorly provided for. William had little more than three hundred a year. It was necessary for him to follow a profession. He had already begun to eat his terms. In the spring of 1780 he came of age. He then quitted Cambridge, was called to the bar, took chambers in Lincoln's Inn, and joined the western circuit. In the autumn of that year a general election took place; and he offered himself as a candidate for the university; but he was at the bottom of the poll. It is said that the grave doctors who then sate, robed in scarlet, on the benches of Golgotha, thought it great presumption in so young a man to solicit so high a distinction. He was, however, at the request of a hereditary friend, the Duke of Rutland, brought into Parliament by Sir James Lowther for the borough of Appleby.

Called to the bar, 1780.

M.P. for Appleby, 1780; takes his seat, Jan. 23, 1781

The dangers of the country were at that time such as might well have disturbed even a constant mind. Army after army had been sent in vain against the rebellious colonists of North America. On pitched fields of battle the advantage had been with the disciplined troops of the mother country. But it was not on pitched fields of battle that the event of such a contest could be decided. An

armed nation, with hunger and the Atlantic for auxiliaries, was not to be subjugated. Meanwhile the House of Bourbon, humbled to the dust a few years before by the genius and vigour of Chatham, had seized the opportunity of revenge. France and Spain were united against us, and had recently been joined by Holland. The command of the Mediterranean had been for a time lost. The British flag had been scarcely able to maintain itself in the British Channel. The northern powers professed neutrality; but their neutrality had a menacing aspect. In the East, Hyder had descended on the Carnatic, had destroyed the little army of Baillie, and had spread terror even to the ramparts of Fort Saint George. The discontents of Ireland threatened nothing less than civil war. In England the authority of the government had sunk to the lowest point. The King and the House of Commons were alike unpopular. The cry for parliamentary reform was scarcely less loud and vehement than in the autumn of 1830. Formidable associations, headed, not by ordinary demagogues, but by men of high rank, stainless character, and distinguished ability, demanded a revision of the representative system. The populace, emboldened by the impotence and irresolution of the government, had recently broken loose from all restraint, besieged the chambers of the legislature, hustled peers, hunted bishops, attacked the residences of ambassadors, opened prisons, burned and pulled down houses. London had presented during some days the aspect of a city taken by storm; and it had been necessary to form a camp among the trees of Saint James's Park.

In spite of dangers and difficulties abroad and at home, George the Third, with a firmness which had little affinity with virtue or with wisdom, persisted in his determination to put down the American rebels by force of arms; and his ministers submitted their judgment to his. Some of them were probably actuated merely by selfish cupidity; but their chief, Lord North, a man of high honour,

amiable temper, winning manners, lively wit, and excellent talents both for business and for debate, must be acquitted of all sordid motives. He remained at a post from which he had long wished and had repeatedly tried to escape, only because he had not sufficient fortitude to resist the entreaties and reproaches of the King, who silenced all arguments by passionately asking whether any gentleman, any man of spirit, could have the heart to desert a kind master in the hour of extremity.

The opposition consisted of two parties which had once been hostile to each other, and which had been very slowly, and, as it soon appeared, very imperfectly reconciled, but which at this conjuncture seemed to act together with cordiality. The larger of these parties consisted of the great body of the Whig aristocracy. Its head was Charles, Marquess of Rockingham, a man of sense and virtue, and in wealth and parliamentary interest equalled by very few of the English nobles, but afflicted with a nervous timidity which prevented him from taking a prominent part in debate. In the House of Commons, the adherents of Rockingham were led by Fox, whose dissipated habits and ruined fortunes were the talk of the whole town, but whose commanding genius, and whose sweet, generous, and affectionate disposition, extorted the admiration and love of those who most lamented the errors of his private life. Burke, superior to Fox in largeness of comprehension, in extent of knowledge, and in splendour of imagination, but less skilled in that kind of logic and in that kind of rhetoric which convince and persuade great assemblies, was willing to be the lieutenant of a young chief who might have been his son.

A smaller section of the opposition was composed of the old followers of Chatham. At their head was William, Earl of Shelburne, distinguished both as a statesman and as a lover of science and letters. With him were leagued Lord Camden, who had formerly held the Great Seal, and

whose integrity, ability, and constitutional knowledge commanded the public respect; Barré, an eloquent and acrimonious declaimer; and Dunning, who had long held the first place at the English bar. It was to this party that Pitt was naturally attracted.

First speech.

On the 26th of February 1781 he made his first speech in favour of Burke's plan of economical reform. Fox stood up at the same moment, but instantly gave way. The lofty yet animated deportment of the young member, his perfect self-possession, the readiness with which he replied to the orators who had preceded him, the silver tones of his voice, the perfect structure of his unpremeditated sentences, astonished and delighted his hearers. Burke, moved even to tears, exclaimed, "It is not a chip of the old block; it is the old block itself." "Pitt will be one of the first men in Parliament," said a member of the opposition to Fox. "He is so already," answered Fox, in whose nature envy had no place. It is a curious fact, well remembered by some who were very recently living, that soon after this debate Pitt's name was put up by Fox at Brookes's.

On two subsequent occasions during that session Pitt addressed the House, and on both fully sustained the reputation which he had acquired on his first appearance. In the summer, after the prorogation, he again went the western circuit, held several briefs, and acquitted himself in such a manner that he was highly complimented by Buller from the bench, and by Dunning at the bar.

On the 27th of November the Parliament reassembled. Only forty-eight hours before had arrived tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis and his army; and it had consequently been necessary to re-write the royal speech. Every man in the kingdom, except the King, was now convinced that it was mere madness to think of conquering the United States. In the debate on the report of the address, Pitt spoke with even more energy and

End of the administration.

brilliancy than on any former occasion. He was warmly applauded by his allies; but it was remarked that no person on his own side of the house was so loud in eulogy as Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who spoke from the ministerial ranks. That able and versatile politician distinctly foresaw the approaching downfall of the government with which he was connected, and was preparing to make his own escape from the ruin. From that night dates his connection with Pitt, a connection which soon became a close intimacy, and which lasted till it was dissolved by death.

About a fortnight later, Pitt spoke in the committee of supply on the army estimates. Symptoms of dissension had begun to appear on the Treasury bench. Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of State who was especially charged with the direction of the war in America, had held language not easily to be reconciled with declarations made by the First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt noticed the discrepancy with much force and keenness. Lord George and Lord North began to whisper together; and Welbore Ellis, an ancient placeman who had been drawing salary almost every quarter since the days of Henry Pelham, bent down between them to put in a word. Such interruptions sometimes discompose veteran speakers. Pitt stopped, and looking at the group, said, with admirable readiness, "I shall wait till Nestor has composed the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles."

After several defeats, or victories hardly to be distinguished from defeats, the ministry resigned. The King, reluctantly and ungraciously, consented to accept Rockingham as first minister. Fox and Shelburne became Secretaries of State. Lord John Cavendish, one of the most upright and honourable of men, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thurlow, whose abilities and force of character had made him the dictator of the House of Lords, continued to hold the great seal.

Declines office in Rockingham Ministry, March, 1782.

To Pitt was offered, through Shelburne, the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, one of the easiest and most highly paid places in the gift of the Crown; but the offer was, without hesitation, declined. The young statesman had resolved to accept no post which did not entitle him to a seat in the cabinet; and a few days later, he announced that resolution in the House of Commons. It must be remembered that the cabinet was then a much smaller and more select body than at present. We have seen cabinets of sixteen. In the time of our grandfathers a cabinet of ten or eleven was thought inconveniently large. Seven was a usual number. Even Burke, who had taken the lucrative office of Paymaster, was not in the cabinet. Many therefore thought Pitt's declaration indecent. He himself was sorry that he had made it. The words, he said in private, had escaped him in the heat of speaking; and he had no sooner uttered them than he would have given the world to recall them. They, however, did him no harm with the public. The second William Pitt, it was said, had shown that he had inherited the spirit, as well as the genius, of the first. In the son, as in the father, there might perhaps be too much pride; but there was nothing low or sordid. It might be called arrogance in a young barrister, living in chambers on three hundred a year, to refuse a salary of five thousand a year, merely because he did not choose to bind himself to speak or vote for plans which he had no share in framing; but surely such arrogance was not very far removed from virtue.

Pitt gave a general support to the administration of Rockingham, but omitted, in the meantime, no opportunity of courting that Ultra-Whig party which the persecution of Wilkes and the Middlesex election had called into existence, and which the disastrous events of the war, and the triumph of republican principles in America, had made formidable both in numbers and in temper. He

supported a motion for shortening the duration of Parliaments. He made a motion for a committee to examine into the state of the representation, and, in the speech by which that motion was introduced, avowed himself the enemy of the close boroughs, the strongholds of that corruption to which he attributed all the calamities of the nation, and which, as he phrased it in one of those exact and sonorous sentences of which he had a boundless command, had grown with the growth of England and strengthened with her strength, but had not diminished with her diminution or decayed with her decay. On this occasion he was supported by Fox. The motion was lost by only twenty votes in a house of more than three hundred members. The reformers never again had so good a division till the year 1831.

Introduces motion for Parliamentary reform, May 7, 1782.

The new administration was strong in abilities, and was more popular than any administration which had held office since the first year of George the Third, but was hated by the King, hesitatingly supported by the Parliament, and torn by internal dissensions. The Chancellor was disliked and distrusted by almost all his colleagues. The two Secretaries of State regarded each other with no friendly feeling. The line between their departments had not been traced with precision; and there were consequently jealousies, encroachments, and complaints. It was all that Rockingham could do to keep the peace in his cabinet; and, before the cabinet had existed three months, Rockingham died.

In an instant all was confusion. The adherents of the deceased statesman looked on the Duke of Portland as their chief. The King placed Shelburne at the head of the Treasury. Fox, Lord John Cavendish, and Burke, immediately resigned their offices; and the new prime minister was left to constitute a government out of very defective materials. His own parliamentary talents were great; but he could not be in the place where parliamentary talents were most needed. It was necessary to find

Shelburne Ministry.

some member of the House of Commons who could confront the great orators of the opposition; and Pitt alone had the eloquence and the courage which were required. He was offered the great place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he accepted it. He had scarcely completed his twenty-third year.

Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, July, 1782.

The Parliament was speedily prorogued. During the recess, a negotiation for peace which had been commenced under Rockingham was brought to a successful termination. England acknowledged the independence of her revolted colonies; and she ceded to her European enemies some places in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf of Mexico. But the terms which she obtained were quite as advantageous and honourable as the events of the war entitled her to expect, or as she was likely to obtain by persevering in a contest against immense odds. All her vital parts, all the real sources of her power, remained uninjured. She preserved even her dignity; for she ceded to the House of Bourbon only part of what she had won from that House in previous wars. She retained her Indian empire undiminished; and, in spite of the mightiest efforts of two great monarchies, her flag still waved on the rock of Gibraltar. There is not the slightest reason to believe that Fox, if he had remained in office, would have hesitated one moment about concluding a treaty on such conditions. Unhappily that great and most amiable man was, at this crisis, hurried by his passions into an error which made his genius and his virtues, during a long course of years, almost useless to his country.

He saw that the great body of the House of Commons was divided into three parties, his own, that of North, and that of Shelburne; that none of those three parties was large enough to stand alone; that, therefore, unless two of them united, there must be a miserably feeble administration, or, more probably, a rapid succession of miserably feeble administrations, and this at a time when a strong

government was essential to the prosperity and respectability of the nation. It was then necessary and right that there should be a coalition. To every possible coalition there were objections. But, of all possible coalitions, that to which there were the fewest objections was undoubtedly a coalition between Shelburne and Fox. It would have been generally applauded by the followers of both. It might have been made without any sacrifice of public principle on the part of either. Unhappily, recent bickerings had left in the mind of Fox a profound dislike and distrust of Shelburne. Pitt attempted to mediate, and was authorized to invite Fox to return to the service of the Crown. "Is Lord Shelburne," said Fox, "to remain prime minister?" Pitt answered in the affirmative. "It is impossible that I can act under him," said Fox. "Then negotiation is at an end," said Pitt; "for I cannot betray him." Thus the two statesmen parted. They were never again in a private room together.

As Fox and his friends would not treat with Shelburne, nothing remained to them but to treat with North. That fatal coalition which is emphatically called "The Coalition," was formed. Not three quarters of a year had elapsed since Fox and Burke had threatened North with impeachment, and had described him, night after night, as the most arbitrary, the most corrupt, the most incapable of ministers. They now allied themselves with him for the purpose of driving from office a statesman with whom they cannot be said to have differed as to any important question. Nor had they even the prudence and the patience to wait for some occasion on which they might, without inconsistency, have combined with their old enemies in opposition to the government. That nothing might be wanting to the scandal, the great orators who had, during seven years, thundered against the war, determined to join with the authors of that war in passing a vote of censure on the peace.

1783. The Parliament met before Christmas 1782. But it was not till January 1783 that the preliminary treaties were signed. On the 17th of February they were taken into consideration by the House of Commons. There had been, during some days, floating rumours that Fox and North had coalesced; and the debate indicated but too clearly that those rumours were not unfounded. Pitt was suffering from indisposition: he did not rise till his own strength and that of his hearers were exhausted; and he was consequently less successful than on any former occasion. His admirers owned that his speech was feeble and petulant. He so far forgot himself as to advise Sheridan to confine himself to amusing theatrical audiences. This ignoble sarcasm gave Sheridan an opportunity of retorting with great felicity. "After what I have seen and heard to-night," he said, "I really feel strongly tempted to venture on a competition with so great an artist as Ben Jonson, and to bring on the stage a second Angry Boy." On a division, the address proposed by the supporters of the government was rejected by a majority of sixteen.

But Pitt was not a man to be disheartened by a single failure, or to be put down by the most lively repartee. When, a few days later, the opposition proposed a resolution directly censuring the treaties, he spoke with an eloquence, energy, and dignity, which raised his fame and popularity higher than ever. To the coalition of Fox and North he alluded in language which drew forth tumultuous applause from his followers. "If," he said, "this ill-omened and unnatural marriage be not yet consummated, I know of a just and lawful impediment; and, in the name of the public weal, I forbid the banns."

Resignation of Shelburne's Ministry, March 31, 1783.

The ministers were again left in a minority, and Shelburne consequently tendered his resignation. It was accepted: but the King struggled long and hard before he submitted to the terms dictated by Fox, whose faults he detested, and whose high spirit and powerful intellect

he detested still more. The first place at the board of Treasury was repeatedly offered to Pitt: but the offer, though tempting, was steadfastly declined. The young man, whose judgment was as precocious as his eloquence, saw that his time was coming, but was not come, and was deaf to royal importunities and reproaches. His Majesty, bitterly complaining of Pitt's faintheartedness, tried to break the coalition. Every art of seduction was practised on North, but in vain. During several weeks the country remained without a government. It was not till all devices had failed, and till the aspect of the House of Commons became threatening, that the King gave way. The Duke of Portland was declared First Lord of the Treasury. Thurlow was dismissed. Fox and North became Secretaries of State, with power ostensibly equal. But Fox was the real prime minister.

Portland ministry.

The year was far advanced before the new arrangements were completed; and nothing very important was done during the remainder of the session. Pitt, now seated on the opposition bench, brought the question of parliamentary reform a second time under the consideration of the Commons. He proposed to add to the House at once a hundred county members and several members for metropolitan districts, and to enact that every borough of which an election committee should report that the majority of voters appeared to be corrupt should lose the franchise. The motion was rejected by 293 votes to 149.

Pitt's second motion for parliamentary reform, May 7, 1783.

After the prorogation, Pitt visited the Continent for the first and last time. His travelling companion was one of his most intimate friends, a young man of his own age, who had already distinguished himself in Parliament by an engaging natural eloquence, set off by the sweetest and most exquisitely modulated of human voices, and whose affectionate heart, caressing manners, and brilliant wit, made him the most delightful of companions, William Wilberforce. That was the time of Anglomania in France;

and at Paris the son of the great Chatham was absolutely hunted by men of letters and women of fashion, and forced, much against his will, into political disputation. One remarkable saying which dropped from him during this tour has been preserved. A French gentleman expressed some surprise at the immense influence which Fox, a man of pleasure, ruined by the dice-box and the turf, exercised over the English nation. "You have not," said Pitt, "been under the wand of the magician."

State of parties, Nov.–Dec., 1783.

In November 1783 the Parliament met again. The government had irresistible strength in the House of Commons, and seemed to be scarcely less strong in the House of Lords, but was, in truth, surrounded on every side by dangers. The King was impatiently waiting for the moment at which he could emancipate himself from a yoke which galled him so severely that he had more than once seriously thought of retiring to Hanover; and the King was scarcely more eager for a change than the nation. Fox and North had committed a fatal error. They ought to have known that coalitions between parties which have long been hostile can succeed only when the wish for coalition pervades the lower ranks of both. If the leaders unite before there is any disposition to union among the followers, the probability is that there will be a mutiny in both camps, and that the two revolted armies will make a truce with each other, in order to be revenged on those by whom they think that they have been betrayed. Thus it was in 1783. At the beginning of that eventful year, North had been the recognized head of the old Tory party, which, though for a moment prostrated by the disastrous issue of the American war, was still a great power in the state. To him the clergy, the universities, and that large body of country gentlemen whose rallying cry was "Church and King," had long looked up with respect and confidence. Fox had, on the other hand, been the idol of the Whigs, and of the whole body of Protestant

dissenters. The coalition at once alienated the most zealous Tories from North, and the most zealous Whigs from Fox. The University of Oxford, which had marked its approbation of North's orthodoxy by electing him chancellor, the city of London, which had been during two and twenty years at war with the Court, were equally disgusted. Squires and rectors, who had inherited the principles of the cavaliers of the preceding century, could not forgive their old leader for combining with disloyal subjects in order to put a force on the sovereign. The members of the Bill of Rights Society and of the Reform Associations were enraged by learning that their favourite orator now called the great champion of tyranny and corruption his noble friend. Two great multitudes were at once left without any head, and both at once turned their eyes on Pitt. One party saw in him the only man who could rescue the King; the other saw in him the only man who could purify the Parliament. He was supported on one side by Archbishop Markham, the preacher of divine right, and by Jenkinson, the captain of the Prætorian band of the King's friends; on the other side by Jebb and Priestley, Sawbridge and Cartwright, Jack Wilkes and Horne Tooke. On the benches of the House of Commons, however, the ranks of the ministerial majority were unbroken; and that any statesman would venture to brave such a majority was thought impossible. No prince of the Hanoverian line had ever, under any provocation, ventured to appeal from the representative body to the constituent body. The ministers, therefore, notwithstanding the sullen looks and muttered words of displeasure with which their suggestions were received in the closet, notwithstanding the roar of obloquy which was rising louder and louder every day from every corner of the island, thought themselves secure.

Fox's India Bill.

Such was their confidence in their strength that, as soon as the Parliament had met, they brought forward a

singularly bold and original plan for the government of the British territories in India. What was proposed was that the whole authority, which till that time had been exercised over those territories by the East India Company, should be transferred to seven commissioners who were to be named by Parliament, and were not to be removable at the pleasure of the Crown. Earl Fitzwilliam, the most intimate personal friend of Fox, was to be chairman of this board, and the eldest son of North was to be one of the members.

As soon as the outlines of the scheme were known, all the hatred which the coalition had excited burst forth with an astounding explosion. The question which ought undoubtedly to have been considered as paramount to every other was, whether the proposed change was likely to be beneficial or injurious to the thirty millions of people who were subject to the Company. But that question cannot be said to have been even seriously discussed. Burke, who, whether right or wrong in the conclusions to which he came, had at least the merit of looking at the subject in the right point of view, vainly reminded his hearers of that mighty population whose daily rice might depend on a vote of the British Parliament. He spoke with even more than his wonted power of thought and language, about the desolation of Rohilcund, about the spoliation of Benares, about the evil policy which had suffered the tanks of the Carnatic to go to ruin; but he could scarcely obtain a hearing. The contending parties, to their shame it must be said, would listen to none but English topics. Out of doors the cry against the ministry was almost universal. Town and country were united. Corporations exclaimed against the violation of the charter of the greatest corporation in the realm. Tories and democrats joined in pronouncing the proposed board an unconstitutional body. It was to consist of Fox's nominees. The effect of his bill was to give, not to the Crown, but

to him personally, whether in office or in opposition, an enormous power, a patronage sufficient to counterbalance the patronage of the Treasury and of the Admiralty, and to decide the elections for fifty boroughs. He knew, it was said, that he was hateful alike to King and people; and he had devised a plan which would make him independent of both. Some nicknamed him Cromwell, and some Carlo Khan. Wilberforce, with his usual felicity of expression, and with very unusual bitterness of feeling, described the scheme as the genuine offspring of the coalition, as marked with the features of both its parents, the corruption of one and the violence of the other. In spite of all opposition, however, the bill was supported in every stage by great majorities, was rapidly passed, and was sent up to the Lords. To the general astonishment, when the second reading was moved in the Upper House, the opposition proposed an adjournment, and carried it by eighty-seven votes to seventy-nine. The cause of this strange turn of fortune was soon known. Pitt's cousin, Earl Temple, had been in the royal closet, and had there been authorized to let it be known that His Majesty would consider all who voted for the bill as his enemies. The ignominious commission was performed, and instantly a troop of Lords of the Bedchamber, of Bishops who wished to be translated, and of Scotch peers who wished to be re-elected, made haste to change sides. On a later day, the Lords rejected the bill. Fox and North were immediately directed to send their seals to the palace by their Under Secretaries; and Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Pitt First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dec., 1783.

The general opinion was, that there would be an immediate dissolution. But Pitt wisely determined to give the public feeling time to gather strength. On this point he differed from his kinsman Temple. The consequence was, that Temple, who had been appointed one of the Secretaries of State, resigned his office forty-eight hours

after he had accepted it, and thus relieved the new government from a great load of unpopularity: for all men of sense and honour, however strong might be their dislike of the India Bill, disapproved of the manner in which that bill had been thrown out. Temple carried away with him the scandal which the best friends of the new government could not but lament. The fame of the young prime minister preserved its whiteness. He could declare with perfect truth that, if unconstitutional machinations had been employed, he had been no party to them.

He was, however, surrounded by difficulties and dangers. In the House of Lords, indeed, he had a majority; nor could any orator of the opposition in that assembly be considered as a match for Thurlow, who was now again Chancellor, or for Camden, who cordially supported the son of his old friend Chatham. But in the other House there was not a single eminent speaker among the official men who sate round Pitt. His most useful assistant was Dundas, who, though he had not eloquence, had sense, knowledge, readiness, and boldness. On the opposite benches was a powerful majority, led by Fox, who was supported by Burke, North, and Sheridan. The heart of the young minister, stout as it was, almost died within him. He could not once close his eyes on the night which followed Temple's resignation. But, whatever his internal emotions might be, his language and deportment indicated nothing but unconquerable firmness and haughty confidence in his own powers. His contest against the House of Commons lasted from the 17th of December 1783 to the 8th of March 1784. In sixteen divisions the opposition triumphed. Again and again the King was requested to dismiss his ministers. But he was determined to go to Germany rather than yield. Pitt's resolution never wavered. The cry of the nation in his favour became vehement and almost furious. Addresses assuring him of public support came up daily from every part of the kingdom. The free-

dom of the city of London was presented to him in a gold box. He went in state to receive this mark of distinction. He was sumptuously feasted in Grocers' Hall; and the shopkeepers of the Strand and Fleet Street illuminated their houses in his honour. These things could not but produce an effect within the walls of Parliament. The ranks of the majority began to waver; a few passed over to the enemy; some skulked away; many were for capitulating while it was still possible to capitulate with the honours of war. Negotiations were opened with the view of forming an administration on a wide basis, but they had scarcely been opened when they were closed. The opposition demanded, as a preliminary article of the treaty, that Pitt should resign the Treasury; and with this demand Pitt steadfastly refused to comply. While the contest was raging, the Clerkship of the Pells, a sinecure place for life, worth three thousand a year, and tenable with a seat in the House of Commons, became vacant. The appointment was with the Chancellor of the Exchequer: nobody doubted that he would appoint himself; and nobody could have blamed him if he had done so: for such sinecure offices had always been defended on the ground that they enabled a few men of eminent abilities and small incomes to live without any profession, and to devote themselves to the service of the state. Pitt, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, gave the Pells to his father's old adherent, Colonel Barré, a man distinguished by talent and eloquence, but poor and afflicted with blindness. By this arrangement a pension which the Rockingham administration had granted to Barré was saved to the public. Never was there a happier stroke of policy. About treaties, wars, expeditions, tariffs, budgets, there will always be room for dispute. The policy which is applauded by half the nation may be condemned by the other half. But pecuniary disinterestedness everybody comprehends. It is a great

thing for a man who has only three hundred a year to be able to show that he considers three thousand a year as mere dirt beneath his feet, when compared with the public interest and the public esteem. Pitt had his reward. No minister was ever more rancorously libelled; but even when he was known to be overwhelmed with debt, when millions were passing through his hands, when the wealthiest magnates of the realm were soliciting him for marquisates and garters, his bitterest enemies did not dare to accuse him of touching unlawful gain.

Dissolves Parliament, March, 1784.

At length the hard fought fight ended. A final remonstrance, drawn up by Burke with admirable skill, was carried on the 8th of March by a single vote in a full House. Had the experiment been repeated, the supporters of the coalition would probably have been in a minority. But the supplies had been voted; the Mutiny Bill had been passed; and the Parliament was dissolved.

The popular constituent bodies all over the country were in general enthusiastic on the side of the new government. A hundred and sixty of the supporters of the coalition lost their seats. The First Lord of the Treasury himself came in at the head of the poll for the University of Cambridge. His young friend, Wilberforce, was elected Knight of the great shire of York, in opposition to the whole influence of the Fitzwilliams, Cavendishes, Dundases, and Saviles. In the midst of such triumphs Pitt completed his twenty-fifth year. He was now the greatest subject that England had seen during many generations. He domineered absolutely over the cabinet, and was the favourite at once of the Sovereign, of the Parliament, and of the nation. His father had never been so powerful, nor Walpole, nor Marlborough.

Returned for Cambridge University, 1784.

This narrative has now reached a point, beyond which a full history of the life of Pitt would be a history of England, or rather of the whole civilized world; and for such a history this is not the proper place. Here a very

slight sketch must suffice; and in that sketch prominence will be given to such points as may enable a reader who is already acquainted with the general course of events to form a just notion of the character of the man on whom so much depended.

If we wish to arrive at a correct judgment of Pitt's merits and defects, we must never forget that he belonged to a peculiar class of statesmen, and that he must be tried by a peculiar standard. It is not easy to compare him fairly with such men as Ximenes and Sully, Richelieu and Oxenstiern, John De Witt and Warren Hastings. The means by which those politicians governed great communities were of quite a different kind from those which Pitt was under the necessity of employing. Some talents, which they had never any opportunity of showing that they possessed, were developed in him to an extraordinary degree. In some qualities, on the other hand, to which they owe a large part of their fame, he was decidedly their inferior. They transacted business in their closets, or at boards where a few confidential councillors sate. It was his lot to be born in an age and in a country, in which parliamentary government was completely established; his whole training from infancy was such as fitted him to bear a part in parliamentary government; and, from the prime of his manhood to his death, all the powers of his vigorous mind were almost constantly exerted in the work of parliamentary government. He accordingly became the greatest master of the whole art of parliamentary government that has ever existed, a greater than Montague or Walpole, a greater than his father Chatham or his rival Fox, a greater than either of his illustrious successors Canning and Peel.

Pitt and parliamentary government.

Parliamentary government, like every other contrivance of man, has its advantages and its disadvantages. On the advantages there is no need to dilate. The history of England during the hundred and seventy years which have

elapsed since the House of Commons became the most powerful body in the state, her immense and still growing prosperity, her freedom, her tranquillity, her greatness in arts, in sciences, and in arms, her maritime ascendancy, the marvels of her public credit, her American, her African, her Australian, her Asiatic empires, sufficiently prove the excellence of her institutions. But those institutions, though excellent, are assuredly not perfect. Parliamentary government is government by speaking. In such a government, the power of speaking is the most highly prized of all the qualities which a politician can possess ; and that power may exist, in the highest degree without judgment, without fortitude, without skill in reading the characters of men or the signs of the times, without any knowledge of the principles of legislation or of political economy, and without any skill in diplomacy or in the administration of war. Nay, it may well happen that those very intellectual qualities which give a peculiar charm to the speeches of a public man may be incompatible with the qualities which would fit him to meet a pressing emergency with promptitude and firmness. It was thus with Charles Townshend. It was thus with Windham. It was a privilege to listen to those accomplished and ingenious orators. But in a perilous crisis they would have been found far inferior in all the qualities of rulers to such a man as Oliver Cromwell, who talked nonsense, or as William the Silent, who did not talk at all. When parliamentary government is established, a Charles Townshend or a Windham will almost always exercise much greater influence than such men as the great Protector of England, or as the founder of the Batavian commonwealth. In such a government, parliamentary talent, though quite distinct from the talents of a good executive or judicial officer, will be a chief qualification for executive and judicial office. From the Book of Dignities a curious list might be made out of Chancellors

ignorant of the principles of equity, and First Lords of the Admiralty ignorant of the principles of navigation, of Colonial ministers who could not repeat the names of the Colonies, of Lords of the Treasury who did not know the difference between funded and unfunded debt, and of Secretaries of the India Board who did not know whether the Mahrattas were Mahometans or Hindoos. On these grounds, some persons, incapable of seeing more than one side of a question, have pronounced parliamentary government a positive evil, and have maintained that the administration would be greatly improved if the power, now exercised by a large assembly, were transferred to a single person. Men of sense will probably think the remedy very much worse than the disease, and will be of opinion that there would be small gain in exchanging Charles Townshend and Windham for the Prince of the Peace, or the poor slave and dog Steenie.

Pitt was emphatically the man of parliamentary government, the type of his class, the minion, the child, the spoiled child, of the House of Commons. For the House of Commons he had a hereditary, an infantine love. Through his whole boyhood, the House of Commons was never out of his thoughts, or out of the thoughts of his instructors. Reciting at his father's knee, reading Thucydides and Cicero into English, analyzing the great Attic speeches on the Embassy and on the Crown, he was constantly in training for the conflicts of the House of Commons. He was a distinguished member of the House of Commons at twenty-one. The ability which he had displayed in the House of Commons made him the most powerful subject in Europe before he was twenty-five. It would have been happy for himself and for his country if his elevation had been deferred. Eight or ten years, during which he would have had leisure and opportunity for reading and reflection, for foreign travel, for social intercourse and free exchange of thought on equal terms

with a great variety of companions, would have supplied what, without any fault on his part, was wanting to his powerful intellect. He had all the knowledge that he could be expected to have; that is to say, all the knowledge that a man can acquire while he is a student at Cambridge, and all the knowledge that a man can acquire when he is First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the stock of general information which he brought from college, extraordinary for a boy, was far inferior to what Fox possessed, and beggarly when compared with the massy, the splendid, the various treasures laid up in the large mind of Burke. After Pitt became minister, he had no leisure to learn more than was necessary for the purposes of the day which was passing over him. What was necessary for those purposes such a man could learn with little difficulty. He was surrounded by experienced and able public servants. He could at any moment command their best assistance. From the stores which they produced his vigorous mind rapidly collected the materials for a good parliamentary case: and that was enough. Legislation and administration were with him secondary matters. To the work of framing statutes, of negotiating treaties, of organizing fleets and armies, of sending forth expeditions, he gave only the leavings of his time and the dregs of his fine intellect. The strength and sap of his mind were all drawn in a different direction. It was when the House of Commons was to be convinced and persuaded that he put forth all his powers.

Of those powers we must form our estimate chiefly from tradition; for of all the eminent speakers of the last age, Pitt has suffered most from the reporters. Even while he was still living, critics remarked that his eloquence could not be preserved, that he must be heard to be appreciated. They more than once applied to him the sentence in which Tacitus describes the fate of a senator

His oratory.

whose rhetoric was admired in the Augustan age: "Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul exstinctum est." There is, however, abundant evidence that nature had bestowed on Pitt the talents of a great orator; and those talents had been developed in a very peculiar manner, first by his education, and secondly by the high official position to which he rose early, and in which he passed the greater part of his public life.

At his first appearance in Parliament he showed himself superior to all his contemporaries in command of language. He could pour forth a long succession of round and stately periods, without premeditation, without ever pausing for a word, without ever repeating a word, in a voice of silver clearness, and with a pronunciation so articulate that not a letter was slurred over. He had less amplitude of mind and less richness of imagination than Burke, less ingenuity than Windham, less wit than Sheridan, less perfect mastery of dialectical fence, and less of that highest sort of eloquence which consists of reason and passion fused together, than Fox. Yet the almost unanimous judgment of those who were in the habit of listening to that remarkable race of men placed Pitt, as a speaker, above Burke, above Windham, above Sheridan, and not below Fox. His declamation was copious, polished, and splendid. In power of sarcasm he was probably not surpassed by any speaker, ancient or modern; and of this formidable weapon he made merciless use. In two parts of the oratorical art which are of the highest value to a minister of state he was singularly expert. No man knew better how to be luminous or how to be obscure. When he wished to be understood, he never failed to make himself understood. He could with ease present to his audience, not perhaps an exact or profound, but a clear, popular, and plausible view of the most extensive and complicated subject. Nothing was out of place; nothing was forgotten; minute details, dates, sums of money, were

all faithfully preserved in his memory. Even intricate questions of finance, when explained by him, seemed clear to the plainest man among his hearers. On the other hand, when he did not wish to be explicit,—and no man who is at the head of affairs always wishes to be explicit,—he had a marvellous power of saying nothing in language which left on his audience the impression that he had said a great deal. He was at once the only man who could open a budget without notes, and the only man who, as Windham said, could speak that most elaborately evasive and unmeaning of human compositions, a King's speech, without premeditation.

Personal character.

The effect of oratory will always to a great extent depend on the character of the orator. There perhaps never were two speakers whose eloquence had more of what may be called the race, more of the flavour imparted by moral qualities, than Fox and Pitt. The speeches of Fox owe a great part of their charm to that warmth and softness of heart, that sympathy with human suffering, that admiration for everything great and beautiful, and that hatred of cruelty and injustice, which interest and delight us even in the most defective reports. No person, on the other hand, could hear Pitt without perceiving him to be a man of high, intrepid, and commanding spirit, proudly conscious of his own rectitude and of his own intellectual superiority, incapable of the low vices of fear and envy, but too prone to feel and to show disdain. Pride, indeed, pervaded the whole man, was written in the harsh, rigid lines of his face, was marked by the way in which he walked, in which he sate, in which he stood, and, above all, in which he bowed. Such pride, of course, inflicted many wounds. It may confidently be affirmed that there cannot be found, in all the ten thousand invectives written against Fox, a word indicating that his demeanour had ever made a single personal enemy. On the other hand, several men of note who had been partial to Pitt,

and who to the last continued to approve his public conduct and to support his administration, Cumberland for example, Boswell, and Matthias, were so much irritated by the contempt with which he treated them, that they complained in print of their wrongs. But his pride, though it made him bitterly disliked by individuals, inspired the great body of his followers in Parliament and throughout the country with respect and confidence. They took him at his own valuation. They saw that his self-esteem was not that of an upstart who was drunk with good luck and with applause, and who, if fortune turned, would sink from arrogance into abject humility. It was that of the magnanimous man so finely described by Aristotle in the Ethics, of the man who thinks himself worthy of great things, being in truth worthy. It sprang from a consciousness of great powers and great virtues, and was never so conspicuously displayed as in the midst of difficulties and dangers which would have unnerved and bowed down any ordinary mind. It was closely connected, too, with an ambition which had no mixture of low cupidity. There was something noble in the cynical disdain with which the mighty minister scattered riches and titles to right and left among those who valued them, while he spurned them out of his own way. Poor himself, he was surrounded by friends on whom he had bestowed three thousand, six thousand, ten thousand a year. Plain Mister himself, he had made more lords than any three ministers that had preceded him. The garter, for which the first dukes in the kingdom were contending, was repeatedly offered to him, and offered in vain.

Private life.

The correctness of his private life added much to the dignity of his public character. In the relations of son, brother, uncle, master, friend, his conduct was exemplary. In the small circle of his intimate associates, he was amiable, affectionate, even playful. They loved him sincerely; they regretted him long; and they would hardly

admit that he who was so kind and gentle with them could be stern and haughty with others. He indulged, indeed, somewhat too freely in wine, which he had early been directed to take as a medicine, and which use had made a necessary of life to him. But it was very seldom that any indication of undue excess could be detected in his tones or gestures; and, in truth, two bottles of port were little more to him than two dishes of tea. He had, when he was first introduced into the clubs of Saint James's Street, shown a strong taste for play; but he had the prudence and the resolution to stop before this taste had acquired the strength of habit. From the passion which generally exercises the most tyrannical dominion over the young he possessed an immunity, which is probably to be ascribed partly to his temperament and partly to his situation. His constitution was feeble: he was very shy; and he was very busy. The strictness of his morals furnished such buffoons as Peter Pindar and Captain Morris with an inexhaustible theme for merriment of no very delicate kind. But the great body of the middle class of Englishmen could not see the joke. They warmly praised the young statesman for commanding his passions, and for covering his frailties, if he had frailties, with decorous obscurity, and would have been very far indeed from thinking better of him if he had vindicated himself from the taunts of his enemies by taking under his protection a Nancy Parsons or a Marianne Clark.

Patronage of letters and art.

No part of the immense popularity which Pitt long enjoyed is to be attributed to the eulogies of wits and poets. It might have been naturally expected that a man of genius, of learning, of taste, an orator whose diction was often compared to that of Tully, the representative, too, of a great university, would have taken a peculiar pleasure in befriending eminent writers, to whatever political party they might have belonged. The love of literature had induced Augustus to heap benefits on

Pompeians, Somers to be the protector of nonjurors, Harley to make the fortunes of Whigs. But it could not move Pitt to show any favour even to Pittites. He was doubtless right in thinking that, in general, poetry, history, and philosophy, ought to be suffered, like calico and cutlery, to find their proper price in the market, and that to teach men of letters to look habitually to the state for their recompense is bad for the state and bad for letters. Assuredly nothing can be more absurd or mischievous than to waste the public money in bounties for the purpose of inducing people who ought to be weighing out grocery or measuring out drapery to write bad or middling books. But, though the sound rule is that authors should be left to be remunerated by their readers, there will, in every generation, be a few exceptions to this rule. To distinguish these special cases from the mass is an employment well worthy of the faculties of a great and accomplished ruler; and Pitt would assuredly have had little difficulty in finding such cases. While he was in power, the greatest philologist of the age, his own contemporary at Cambridge, was reduced to earn a livelihood by the lowest literary drudgery, and to spend in writing squibs for the Morning Chronicle years to which we might have owed an all but perfect text of the whole tragic and comic drama of Athens. The greatest historian of the age, forced by poverty to leave his country, completed his immortal work on the shores of Lake Leman. The political heterodoxy of Porson, and the religious heterodoxy of Gibbon, may perhaps be pleaded in defence of the minister by whom those eminent men were neglected. But there were other cases in which no such excuse could be set up. Scarcely had Pitt obtained possession of unbounded power when an aged writer of the highest eminence, who had made very little by his writings, and who was sinking into the grave under a load of infirmities and sorrows, wanted five

or six hundred pounds to enable him, during the winter or two which might still remain to him, to draw his breath more easily in the soft climate of Italy. Not a farthing was to be obtained; and before Christmas the author of the English Dictionary and of the Lives of the Poets had gasped his last in the river fog and coal smoke of Fleet Street. A few months after the death of Johnson appeared the Task, incomparably the best poem that any Englishman then living had produced—a poem, too, which could hardly fail to excite in a well constituted mind a feeling of esteem and compassion for the poet, a man of genius and virtue, whose means were scanty, and whom the most cruel of all the calamities incident to humanity had made incapable of supporting himself by vigorous and sustained exertion. Nowhere had Chatham been praised with more enthusiasm, or in verse more worthy of the subject, than in the Task. The son of Chatham, however, contented himself with reading and admiring the book, and left the author to starve. The pension which, long after, enabled poor Cowper to close his melancholy life, unmolested by duns and bailiffs, was obtained for him by the strenuous kindness of Lord Spencer. What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Johnson and the way in which Lord Grey acted towards his political enemy Scott, when Scott, worn out by misfortune and disease, was advised to try the effect of the Italian air! What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Cowper and the way in which Burke, a poor man and out of place, acted towards Crabbe! Even Dundas, who made no pretensions to literary taste, and was content to be considered as a hard-headed and somewhat coarse man of business, was, when compared with his eloquent and classically educated friend, a Mæcenas or a Leo. Dundas made Burns an exciseman, with seventy pounds a year; and this was more than Pitt, during his long tenure of power, did for

the encouragement of letters. Even those who may think that it is, in general, no part of the duty of a government to reward literary merit, will hardly deny that a government, which has much lucrative church preferment in its gift, is bound, in distributing that preferment, not to overlook divines whose writings have rendered great service to the cause of religion. But it seems never to have occurred to Pitt that he lay under any such obligation. All the theological works of all the numerous bishops whom he made and translated are not, when put together, worth fifty pages of the Horæ Paulinæ, of the Natural Theology, or of the View of the Evidences of Christianity. But on Paley the all-powerful minister never bestowed the smallest benefice. Artists Pitt treated as contemptuously as writers. For painting he did simply nothing. Sculptors, who had been selected to execute monuments voted by Parliament, had to haunt the antechambers of the Treasury during many years before they could obtain a farthing from him. One of them, after vainly soliciting the minister for payment during fourteen years, had the courage to present a memorial to the King, and thus obtained tardy and ungracious justice. Architects it was absolutely necessary to employ; and the worst that could be found seem to have been employed. Not a single fine public building of any kind or in any style was erected during his long administration. It may be confidently affirmed that no ruler whose abilities and attainments would bear any comparison with his has ever shown such cold disdain for what is excellent in arts and letters.

His first administration lasted seventeen years. That long period is divided by a strongly marked line into two almost exactly equal parts. The first part ended and the second began in the autumn of 1792. Throughout both parts Pitt displayed in the highest degree the talents of a parliamentary leader. During the first part he was a

First administration, 1784-1801.

fortunate, and, in many respects, a skilful administrator. With the difficulties which he had to encounter during the second part he was altogether incapable of contending: but his eloquence and his perfect mastery of the tactics of the House of Commons concealed his incapacity from the multitude.

First period, 1784-1792.

The eight years which followed the general election of 1784 were as tranquil and prosperous as any eight years in the whole history of England. Neighbouring nations which had lately been in arms against her, and which had flattered themselves that, in losing her American colonies, she had lost a chief source of her wealth and of her power, saw, with wonder and vexation, that she was more wealthy and more powerful than ever. Her trade increased. Her manufactures flourished. Her exchequer was full to overflowing. Very idle apprehensions were generally entertained, that the public debt, though much less than a third of the debt which we now bear with ease, would be found too heavy for the strength of the nation. Those apprehensions might not perhaps have been easily quieted by reason. But Pitt quieted them by a juggle. He succeeded in persuading first himself, and then the whole nation, his opponents included, that a new sinking fund, which, so far as it differed from former sinking funds, differed for the worse, would, by virtue of some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums not taken out of the pocket of the tax-payer. The country, terrified by a danger which was no danger, hailed with delight and boundless confidence a remedy which was no remedy. The minister was almost universally extolled as the greatest of financiers. Meanwhile both the branches of the House of Bourbon found that England was as formidable an antagonist as she had ever been. France had formed a plan for reducing Holland to vassalage. But England interposed, and France receded.

Spain interrupted by violence the trade of our merchants with the regions near the Oregon. But England armed, and Spain receded. Within the island there was profound tranquillity. The King was, for the first time, popular. During the twenty-three years which had followed his accession he had not been loved by his subjects. His domestic virtues were acknowledged. But it was generally thought that the good qualities by which he was distinguished in private life were wanting to his political character. As a Sovereign, he was resentful, unforgiving, stubborn, cunning. Under his rule the country had sustained cruel disgraces and disasters; and every one of those disgraces and disasters was imputed to his strong antipathies, and to his perverse obstinacy in the wrong. One statesman after another complained that he had been induced by royal caresses, entreaties, and promises, to undertake the direction of affairs at a difficult conjuncture, and that, as soon as he had, not without sullying his fame and alienating his best friends, served the turn for which he was wanted, his ungrateful master began to intrigue against him, and to canvass against him. Grenville, Rockingham, Chatham, men of widely different characters, but all three upright and high-spirited, agreed in thinking that the Prince under whom they had successively held the highest place in the government was one of the most insincere of mankind. His confidence was reposed, they said, not in those known and responsible counsellors to whom he had delivered the seals of office, but in secret advisers who stole up the back stairs into his closet. In Parliament, his ministers, while defending themselves against the attacks of the opposition in front, were perpetually, at his instigation, assailed on the flank or in the rear by a vile band of mercenaries who called themselves his friends. These men constantly, while in possession of lucrative places in his service, spoke and voted against bills which he had authorized the First Lord of the

Treasury or the Secretary of State to bring in. But from the day on which Pitt was placed at the head of affairs there was an end of secret influence. His haughty and aspiring spirit was not to be satisfied with the mere show of power. Any attempt to undermine him at Court, any mutinous movement among his followers in the House of Commons, was certain to be at once put down. He had only to tender his resignation; and he could dictate his own terms. For he, and he alone, stood between the King and the Coalition. He was therefore little less than Mayor of the Palace. The nation loudly applauded the King for having the wisdom to repose entire confidence in so excellent a minister. His Majesty's private virtues now began to produce their full effect. He was generally regarded as the model of a respectable country gentleman, honest, good-natured, sober, religious. He rose early: he dined temperately: he was strictly faithful to his wife: he never missed church; and at church he never missed a response. His people heartily prayed that he might long reign over them; and they prayed the more heartily because his virtues were set off to the best advantage by the vices and follies of the Prince of Wales, who lived in close intimacy with the chiefs of the opposition.

The Regency, 1783.

How strong this feeling was in the public mind appeared signally on one great occasion. In the autumn of 1788 the King became insane. The opposition, eager for office, committed the great indiscretion of asserting that the heir apparent had, by the fundamental laws of England, a right to be Regent with the full powers of royalty. Pitt, on the other hand, maintained it to be the constitutional doctrine that, when a Sovereign is, by reason of infancy, disease, or absence, incapable of exercising the regal functions, it belongs to the estates of the realm to determine who shall be the vicegerent, and with what portion of the executive authority such vicegerent shall be entrusted. A long and violent contest followed, in which

Pitt was supported by the great body of the people with as much enthusiasm as during the first months of his administration. Tories with one voice applauded him for defending the sick-bed of a virtuous and unhappy Sovereign against a disloyal faction and an undutiful son. Not a few Whigs applauded him for asserting the authority of Parliaments and the principles of the Revolution, in opposition to a doctrine which seemed to have too much affinity with the servile theory of indefeasible hereditary right. The middle class, always zealous on the side of decency and the domestic virtues, looked forward with dismay to a reign resembling that of Charles II. The palace, which had now been, during thirty years, the pattern of an English home, would be a public nuisance, a school of profligacy. To the good King's repast of mutton and lemonade, despatched at three o'clock, would succeed midnight banquets, from which the guests would be carried home speechless. To the backgammon board at which the good King played for a little silver with his equerries, would succeed faro tables from which young patricians who had sate down rich would rise up beggars. The drawing-room, from which the frown of the Queen had repelled a whole generation of frail beauties, would now be again what it had been in the days of Barbara Palmer and Louisa de Querouaille. Nay, severely as the public reprobated the Prince's many illicit attachments, his one virtuous attachment was reprobated more severely still. Even in grave and pious circles his Protestant mistresses gave less scandal than his Popish wife. That he must be Regent nobody ventured to deny. But he and his friends were so unpopular that Pitt could, with general approbation, propose to limit the powers of the Regent by restrictions to which it would have been impossible to subject a Prince beloved and trusted by the country. Some interested men, fully expecting a change of administration, went over to the opposition. But the

Pitt at zenith of his power in the recovery of king 1789.

majority, purified by these desertions, closed its ranks, and presented a more firm array than ever to the enemy. In every division Pitt was victorious. When at length, after a stormy interregnum of three months, it was announced, on the very eve of the inauguration of the Regent, that the King was himself again, the nation was wild with delight. On the evening of the day on which His Majesty resumed his functions, a spontaneous illumination, the most general that had ever been seen in England, brightened the whole vast space from Highgate to Tooting, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich. On the day on which he returned thanks in the cathedral of his capital, all the horses and carriages within a hundred miles of London were too few for the multitudes which flocked to see him pass through the streets. A second illumination followed, which was even superior to the first in magnificence. Pitt with difficulty escaped from the tumultuous kindness of an innumerable multitude which insisted on drawing his coach from Saint Paul's Churchyard to Downing Street. This was the moment at which his fame and fortune may be said to have reached the zenith. His influence in the closet was as great as that of Carr or Villiers had been. His dominion over the Parliament was more absolute than that of Walpole or Pelham had been. He was at the same time as high in the favour of the populace as ever Wilkes or Sacheverell had been. Nothing did more to raise his character than his noble poverty. It was well known that, if he had been dismissed from office after more than five years of boundless power, he would hardly have carried out with him a sum sufficient to furnish the set of chambers in which, as he cheerfully declared, he meant to resume the practice of the law. His admirers, however, were by no means disposed to suffer him to depend on daily toil for his daily bread. The voluntary contributions which were awaiting his acceptance in the city of London alone

Pitt's constitutional govt.

would have sufficed to make him a rich man. But it may be doubted whether his haughty spirit would have stooped to accept a provision so honourably earned and so honourably bestowed.

To such a height of power and glory had this extraordinary man risen at twenty-nine years of age. And now the tide was on the turn. Only ten days after the triumphant procession to Saint Paul's, the States-General of France, after an interval of a hundred and seventy-four years, met at Versailles.

French Revolution.

The nature of the great Revolution which followed was long very imperfectly understood in this country. Burke saw much further than any of his contemporaries; but whatever his sagacity descried was refracted and discoloured by his passions and his imagination. More than three years elapsed before the principles of the English administration underwent any material change. Nothing could as yet be milder or more strictly constitutional than the minister's domestic policy. Not a single act indicating an arbitrary temper or a jealousy of the people could be imputed to him. He had never applied to Parliament for any extraordinary powers. He had never used with harshness the ordinary powers entrusted by the constitution to the executive government. Not a single state prosecution which would even now be called oppressive had been instituted by him. Indeed, the only oppressive state prosecution instituted during the first eight years of his administration was that of Stockdale, which is to be attributed, not to the government, but to the chiefs of the opposition. In office, Pitt had redeemed the pledges which he had, at his entrance into public life, given to the supporters of parliamentary reform. He had, in 1785, brought forward a judicious plan for the improvement of the representative system, and had prevailed on the King, not only to refrain from talking against that plan, but to recommend it to the Houses in a speech from the

throne.[1] This attempt failed : but there can be little doubt that, if the French Revolution had not produced a violent reaction of public feeling, Pitt would have performed, with little difficulty and no danger, that great work which, at a later period, Lord Grey could accomplish only by means which for a time loosened the very foundations of the commonwealth. When the atrocities of the slave trade were first brought under the consideration of Parliament, no abolitionist was more zealous than Pitt. When sickness prevented Wilberforce from appearing in public, his place was most efficiently supplied by his friend the minister. A humane bill, which mitigated the horrors of the middle passage, was, in 1788, carried by the eloquence and determined spirit of Pitt, in spite of the opposition of some of his own colleagues ; and it ought always to be remembered to his honour that, in order to carry that bill, he kept the Houses sitting, in spite of many murmurs, long after the business of the government had been done, and the Appropriation Act passed. In 1791 he cordially concurred with Fox in maintaining the sound constitutional doctrine, that an impeachment is not terminated by a dissolution. In the course of the same year the two great rivals contended side by side in a far more important cause. They are fairly entitled to divide the high honour of having added to our statute-book the inestimable law which places the liberty of the press under the protection of juries. On one occasion, and one alone, Pitt, during the first half of his long administration, acted in a manner unworthy of an enlightened Whig. In the debate on the Test Act, he stooped to gratify the master whom he served, the university which

[1] The speech with which the King opened the session of 1785 concluded with an assurance that His Majesty would heartily concur in every measure which could tend to secure the true principles of the constitution. These words were at the time understood to refer to Pitt's Reform Bill.

he represented, and the great body of clergymen and country gentlemen on whose support he rested, by talking, with little heartiness, indeed, and with no asperity, the language of a Tory. With this single exception, his conduct from the end of 1783 to the middle of 1792 was that of an honest friend of civil and religious liberty.

Nor did anything, during that period, indicate that he loved war, or harboured any malevolent feeling against any neighbouring nation. Those French writers who have represented him as a Hannibal sworn in childhood by his father to bear eternal hatred to France, as having, by mysterious intrigues and lavish bribes, instigated the leading Jacobins to commit those excesses which dishonoured the Revolution, as having been the real author of the first coalition, know nothing of his character or of his history. So far was he from being a deadly enemy to France, that his laudable attempts to bring about a closer connection with that country by means of a wise and liberal treaty of commerce brought on him the severe censure of the opposition. He was told in the House of Commons that he was a degenerate son, and that his partiality for the hereditary foes of our island was enough to make his great father's bones stir under the pavement of the Abbey.

Its influence in English politics.

And this man, whose name, if he had been so fortunate as to die in 1792, would now have been associated with peace, with freedom, with philanthropy, with temperate reform, with mild and constitutional administration, lived to associate his name with arbitrary government, with harsh laws harshly executed, with alien bills, with gagging bills, with suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, with cruel punishments inflicted on some political agitators, with unjustifiable prosecutions instituted against others, and with the most costly and most sanguinary wars of modern times. He lived to be held up to obloquy as the stern oppressor of England, and the indefatigable disturber

of Europe. Poets, contrasting his earlier with his later years, likened him sometimes to the apostle who kissed in order to betray, and sometimes to the evil angels who kept not their first estate. A satirist of great genius introduced the fiends of Famine, Slaughter, and Fire, proclaiming that they had received their commission from One whose name was formed of four letters, and promising to give their employer ample proofs of gratitude. Famine would gnaw the multitude till they should rise up against him in madness. The demon of Slaughter would impel them to tear him from limb to limb. But Fire boasted that she alone could reward him as he deserved, and that she would cling round him to all eternity. By the French press and the French tribune every crime that disgraced and every calamity that afflicted France was ascribed to the monster Pitt and his guineas. While the Jacobins were dominant, it was he who had corrupted the Gironde, who had raised Lyons and Bordeaux against the Convention, who had suborned Paris to assassinate Lepelletier, and Cecilia Regnault to assassinate Robespierre. When the Thermidorian reaction came, all the atrocities of the Reign of Terror were imputed to him. Collot D'Herbois and Fouquier Tinville had been his pensioners. It was he who had hired the murderers of September, who had dictated the pamphlets of Marat and the Carmagnoles of Barère, who had paid Lebon to deluge Arras with blood, and Carrier to choke the Loire with corpses.

The truth is, that he liked neither war nor arbitrary government. He was a lover of peace and freedom, driven, by a stress against which it was hardly possible for any will or any intellect to struggle, out of the course to which his inclinations pointed, and for which his abilities and acquirements fitted him, and forced into a policy repugnant to his feelings and unsuited to his talents.

The charge of apostasy is grossly unjust. A man ought no more to be called an apostate because his opinions

alter with the opinions of the great body of his contemporaries than he ought to be called an oriental traveller because he is always going round from west to east with the globe and everything that is upon it. Between the spring of 1789 and the close of 1792, the public mind of England underwent a great change. If the change of Pitt's sentiments attracted peculiar notice, it was not because he changed more than his neighbours; for in fact he changed less than most of them; but because his position was far more conspicuous than theirs, because he was, till Bonaparte appeared, the individual who filled the greatest space in the eyes of the inhabitants of the civilized world. During a short time the nation, and Pitt, as one of the nation, looked with interest and approbation on the French Revolution. But soon vast confiscations, the violent sweeping away of ancient institutions, the domination of clubs, the barbarities of mobs maddened by famine and hatred, produced a reaction here. The court, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the manufacturers, the merchants, in short, nineteen twentieths of those who had good roofs over their heads and good coats on their backs, became eager and intolerant Antijacobins. This feeling was at least as strong among the minister's adversaries as among his supporters. Fox in vain attempted to restrain his followers. All his genius, all his vast personal influence, could not prevent them from rising up against him in general mutiny. Burke set the example of revolt; and Burke was in no long time joined by Portland, Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Loughborough, Carlisle, Malmesbury, Windham, Elliot. In the House of Commons, the followers of the great Whig statesman and orator diminished from about a hundred and sixty to fifty. In the House of Lords he had but ten or twelve adherents left. There can be no doubt that there would have been a similar mutiny on the ministerial benches, if Pitt had obstinately resisted the general wish. Pressed at once by his master

and by his colleagues, by old friends and by old opponents, he abandoned, slowly and reluctantly, the policy which was dear to his heart. He laboured hard to avert the European war. When the European war broke out, he still flattered himself that it would not be necessary for this country to take either side. In the spring of 1792 he congratulated the Parliament on the prospect of long and profound peace, and proved his sincerity by proposing large remissions of taxation. Down to the end of that year he continued to cherish the hope that England might be able to preserve neutrality. But the passions which raged on both sides of the Channel were not to be restrained. The republicans who ruled France were inflamed by a fanaticism resembling that of the Mussulmans, who, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, went forth, conquering and converting, eastward to the Bay of Bengal, and westward to the Pillars of Hercules. The higher and middle classes of England were animated by zeal not less fiery than that of the Crusaders who raised the cry of *Deus vult* at Clermont. The impulse which drove the two nations to a collision was not to be arrested by the abilities or by the authority of any single man. As Pitt was in front of his fellows, and towered high above them, he seemed to lead them. But in fact he was violently pushed on by them, and, had he held back but a little more than he did, would have been thrust out of their way or trampled under their feet.

Second period of first administration, 1792-1801.

He yielded to the current: and from that day his misfortunes began. The truth is that there were only two consistent courses before him. Since he did not choose to oppose himself, side by side with Fox, to the public feeling, he should have taken the advice of Burke, and should have availed himself of that feeling to the full extent. If it was impossible to preserve peace, he should have adopted the only policy which could lead to victory. He should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion,

Criticism of Pitt's military administration

morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own. Unhappily he tried to find a middle path; and he found one which united all that was worst in both extremes. He went to war: but he would not understand the peculiar character of that war. He was obstinately blind to the plain fact, that he was contending against a state which was also a sect, and that the new quarrel between England and France was of quite a different kind from the old quarrels about colonies in America and fortresses in the Netherlands. He had to combat frantic enthusiasm, boundless ambition, restless activity, the wildest and most audacious spirit of innovation; and he acted as if he had had to deal with the harlots and fops of the old Court of Versailles, with Madame De Pompadour and the Abbé de Bernis. It was pitiable to hear him, year after year, proving to an admiring audience that the wicked Republic was exhausted, that she could not hold out, that her credit was gone, that her assignats were not worth more than the paper of which they were made; as if credit was necessary to a government of which the principle was rapine, as if Alboin could not turn Italy into a desert till he had negotiated a loan at five per cent, as if the exchequer bills of Attila had been at par. It was impossible that a man who so completely mistook the nature of a contest could carry on that contest successfully. Great as Pitt's abilities were, his military administration was that of a driveller. He was at the head of a nation engaged in a struggle for life and death, of a nation eminently distinguished by all the physical and all the moral qualities which make excellent soldiers. The resources at his command were unlimited. The Parliament was even more ready to grant him men and money than he was to ask for them. In such an emergency, and with such means, such a statesman as Richelieu, as Louvois, as Chatham, as Wellesley, would have created in a few

War policy.

Military administration.

Navy mismanaged by Earl of Chatham

months one of the finest armies in the world, and would soon have discovered and brought forward generals worthy to command such an army. Germany might have been saved by another Blenheim; Flanders recovered by another Ramilies; another Poitiers might have delivered the Royalist and Catholic provinces of France from a yoke which they abhorred, and might have spread terror even to the barriers of Paris. But the fact is, that, after eight years of war, after a vast destruction of life, after an expenditure of wealth far exceeding the expenditure of the American war, of the Seven Years' War, of the war of the Austrian Succession, and of the war of the Spanish Succession united, the English army, under Pitt, was the laughing-stock of all Europe. It could not boast of one single brilliant exploit. It had never shown itself on the Continent but to be beaten, chased, forced to re-embark, or forced to capitulate. To take some sugar island in the West Indies, to scatter some mob of half naked Irish peasants, such were the most splendid victories won by the British troops under Pitt's auspices.

Naval administration.

The English navy no mismanagement could ruin. But during a long period whatever mismanagement could do was done. The Earl of Chatham, without a single qualification for high public trust, was made, by a fraternal partiality, First Lord of the Admiralty, and was kept in that great post during two years of a war in which the very existence of the state depended on the efficiency of the fleet. He continued to doze away and trifle away the time which ought to have been devoted to the public service, till the whole mercantile body, though generally disposed to support the government, complained bitterly that our flag gave no protection to our trade. Fortunately he was succeeded by George Earl Spencer, one of those chiefs of the Whig party who, in the great schism caused by the French Revolution, had followed Burke. Lord Spencer, though inferior to many of his colleagues

His talents as Parliamentary leader preserve Pitt to put his power

as an orator, was decidedly the best administrator among them. To him it was owing that a long and gloomy succession of days of fasting, and, most emphatically, of humiliation, was interrupted, twice in the short space of eleven months, by days of thanksgiving for great victories.

It may seem paradoxical to say that the incapacity which Pitt showed in all that related to the conduct of the war is, in some sense, the most decisive proof that he was a man of very extraordinary abilities. Yet this is the simple truth. For assuredly one-tenth part of his errors and disasters would have been fatal to the power and influence of any minister who had not possessed, in the highest degree, the talents of a parliamentary leader. While his schemes were confounded, while his predictions were falsified, while the coalitions which he had laboured to form were falling to pieces, while the expeditions which he had sent forth at enormous cost were ending in rout and disgrace, while the enemy against whom he was feebly contending was subjugating Flanders and Brabant, the Electorate of Mentz and the Electorate of Treves, Holland, Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, his authority over the House of Commons was constantly becoming more and more absolute. There was his empire. There were his victories, his Lodi and his Arcola, his Rivoli and his Marengo. If some great misfortune, a pitched battle lost by the allies, the annexation of a new department to the French Republic, a sanguinary insurrection in Ireland, a mutiny in the fleet, a panic in the city, a run on the bank, had spread dismay through the ranks of his majority, that dismay lasted only till he rose from the Treasury bench, drew up his haughty head, stretched his arm with commanding gesture, and poured forth, in deep and sonorous tones, the lofty language of inextinguishable hope and inflexible resolution. Thus, through a long and calamitous period, every disaster that happened without the walls of Parliament was regularly followed by a triumph within

them. At length he had no longer an opposition to encounter. Of the great party which had contended against him during the first eight years of his administration more than one half now marched under his standard, with his old competitor the Duke of Portland at their head; and the rest had, after many vain struggles, quitted the field in despair. Fox had retired to the shades of St. Anne's Hill, and had there found, in the society of friends whom no vicissitude could estrange from him, of a woman whom he tenderly loved, and of the illustrious dead of Athens, of Rome, and of Florence, ample compensation for all the misfortunes of his public life. Session followed session with scarcely a single division. In the eventful year 1799, the largest minority that could be mustered against the government was twenty-five.

Domestic policy.

In Pitt's domestic policy there was at this time assuredly no want of vigour. While he offered to French Jacobinism a resistance so feeble that it only encouraged the evil which he wished to suppress, he put down English Jacobinism with a strong hand. The Habeas Corpus Act was repeatedly suspended. Public meetings were placed under severe restraints. The government obtained from Parliament power to send out of the country aliens who were suspected of evil designs; and that power was not suffered to be idle. Writers who propounded doctrines adverse to monarchy and aristocracy were proscribed and punished without mercy. It was hardly safe for a republican to avow his political creed over his beefsteak and his bottle of port at a chop-house. The old laws of Scotland against sedition, laws which were considered by Englishmen as barbarous, and which a succession of governments had suffered to rust, were now furbished up and sharpened anew. Men of cultivated minds and polished manners were, for offences which at Westminster would have been treated as mere misdemeanours, sent to

herd with felons at Botany Bay. Some reformers, whose opinions were extravagant, and whose language was intemperate, but who had never dreamed of subverting the government by physical force, were indicted for high treason, and were saved from the gallows only by the righteous verdicts of juries. This severity was at the time loudly applauded by alarmists whom fear had made cruel, but will be seen in a very different light by posterity. The truth is, that the Englishmen who wished for a revolution were, even in number, not formidable, and, in everything but number, a faction utterly contemptible, without arms, or funds, or plans, or organisation, or leader. There can be no doubt that Pitt, strong as he was in the support of the great body of the nation, might easily have repressed the turbulence of the discontented minority by firmly yet temperately enforcing the ordinary law. Whatever vigour he showed during this unfortunate part of his life was vigour out of place and season. He was all feebleness and languor in his conflict with the foreign enemy who was really to be dreaded, and reserved all his energy and resolution for the domestic enemy who might safely have been despised.

Irish policy.

One part only of Pitt's conduct during the last eight years of the eighteenth century deserves high praise. He was the first English minister who formed great designs for the benefit of Ireland. The manner in which the Roman Catholic population of that unfortunate country had been kept down during many generations seemed to him unjust and cruel; and it was scarcely possible for a man of his abilities not to perceive that, in a contest against the Jacobins, the Roman Catholics were his natural allies. Had he been able to do all that he wished, it is probable that a wise and liberal policy would have averted the rebellion of 1798. But the difficulties which he encountered were great, perhaps insurmountable; and the Roman Catholics were, rather by his misfortune than by

his fault, thrown into the hands of the Jacobins. There was a third great rising of the Irishry against the Englishry, a rising not less formidable than the risings of 1641 and 1689. The Englishry remained victorious; and it was necessary for Pitt, as it had been necessary for Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange before him, to consider how the victory should be used. It is only just to his memory to say that he formed a scheme of policy, so grand and so simple, so righteous and so humane, that it would alone entitle him to a high place among statesmen. He determined to make Ireland one kingdom with England, and, at the same time, to relieve the Roman Catholic laity from civil disabilities, and to grant a public maintenance to the Roman Catholic clergy. Had he been able to carry these noble designs into effect, the Union would have been a Union indeed. It would have been inseparably associated in the minds of the great majority of Irishmen with civil and religious freedom; and the old Parliament in College Green would have been regretted only by a small knot of discarded jobbers and oppressors, and would have been remembered by the body of the nation with the loathing and contempt due to the most tyrannical and the most corrupt assembly that had ever sate in Europe. But Pitt could execute only one half of what he had projected. He succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Parliaments of both kingdoms to the Union: but that reconciliation of races and sects, without which the Union could exist only in name, was not accomplished. He was well aware that he was likely to find difficulties in the closet. But he flattered himself that, by cautious and dexterous management, those difficulties might be overcome. Unhappily, there were traitors and sycophants in high place who did not suffer him to take his own time and his own way, but prematurely disclosed his scheme to the king, and disclosed it in the manner most likely to irritate and alarm a weak and diseased

mind. His Majesty absurdly imagined that his coronation oath bound him to refuse his assent to any bill for relieving Roman Catholics from civil disabilities. To argue with him was impossible. Dundas tried to explain the matter, but was told to keep his Scotch metaphysics to himself. Pitt, and Pitt's ablest colleagues, resigned their offices. It was necessary that the King should make a new arrangement. But by this time his anger and distress had brought back the malady which had, many years before, incapacitated him for the discharge of his functions. He actually assembled his family, read the Coronation oath to them, and told them that, if he broke it, the Crown would immediately pass to the House of Savoy. It was not until after an interregnum of several weeks that he regained the full use of his small faculties, and that a ministry after his own heart was at length formed.

Resigns office, March 14, 1801.

The materials out of which he had to construct a government were neither solid nor splendid. To that party, weak in numbers, but strong in every kind of talent, which was hostile to the domestic and foreign policy of his late advisers, he could not have recourse. For that party, while it differed from his late advisers on every point on which they had been honoured with his approbation, cordially agreed with them as to the single matter which had brought on them his displeasure. All that was left to him was to call up the rear ranks of the old ministry to form the front rank of a new ministry. In an age pre-eminently fruitful of parliamentary talents, a cabinet was formed containing hardly a single man who, in parliamentary talents, could be considered as even of the second rate. The most important offices in the state were bestowed on decorous and laborious mediocrity. Henry Addington was at the head of the Treasury. He had been an early, indeed a hereditary, friend of Pitt, and had by Pitt's influence been placed, while still a

Addington ministry.

young man, in the chair of the House of Commons. He was universally admitted to have been the best speaker that had sate in that chair since the retirement of Onslow. But nature had not bestowed on him very vigorous faculties; and the highly respectable situation which he had long occupied with honour had rather unfitted than fitted him for the discharge of his new duties. His business had been to bear himself evenly between contending factions. He had taken no part in the war of words; and he had always been addressed with marked deference by the great orators who thundered against each other from his right and from his left. It was not strange that when, for the first time, he had to encounter keen and vigorous antagonists, who dealt hard blows without the smallest ceremony, he should have been awkward and unready, or that the air of dignity and authority which he had acquired in his former post, and of which he had not divested himself, should have made his helplessness laughable and pitiable. Nevertheless, during many months, his power seemed to stand firm. He was a favourite with the King, whom he resembled in narrowness of mind, and to whom he was more obsequious than Pitt had ever been. The nation was put into high good humour by a peace with France. The enthusiasm with which the upper and middle classes had rushed into the war had spent itself. Jacobinism was no longer formidable. Everywhere there was a strong reaction against what was called the atheistical and anarchical philosophy of the eighteenth century. Bonaparte, now First Consul, was busied in constructing out of the ruins of old institutions a new ecclesiastical establishment and a new order of knighthood. That nothing less than the dominion of the whole civilized world would satisfy his selfish ambition was not yet suspected; nor did even wise men see any reason to doubt that he might be as safe a neighbour as any prince of the House of Bourbon had been. The

treaty of Amiens was therefore hailed by the great body of the English people with extravagant joy. The popularity of the minister was for the moment immense. His want of parliamentary ability was, as yet, of little consequence: for he had scarcely any adversary to encounter. The old opposition, delighted by the peace, regarded him with favour. A new opposition, had indeed been formed by some of the late ministers, and was led by Grenville in the House of Lords, and by Windham in the House of Commons. But the new opposition could scarcely muster ten votes, and was regarded with no favour by the country. On Pitt the ministers relied as on their firmest support. He had not, like some of his colleagues, retired in anger. He had expressed the greatest respect for the conscientious scruple which had taken possession of the royal mind; and he had promised his successors all the help in his power. In private his advice was at their service. In Parliament he took his seat on the bench behind them; and, in more than one debate, defended them with powers far superior to their own. The King perfectly understood the value of such assistance. On one occasion, at the palace, he took the old minister and the new minister aside. "If we three," he said, "keep together, all will go well."

Relations between Pitt and Addington.

But it was hardly possible, human nature being what it is, and, more especially, Pitt and Addington being what they were, that this union should be durable. Pitt, conscious of superior powers, imagined that the place which he had quitted was now occupied by a mere puppet which he had set up, which he was to govern while he suffered it to remain, and which he was to fling aside as soon as he wished to resume his old position. Nor was it long before he began to pine for the power which he had relinquished. He had been so early raised to supreme authority in the state, and had enjoyed that authority so long, that it had become necessary to him. In retirement his days

passed heavily. He could not, like Fox, forget the pleasures and cares of ambition in the company of Euripides or Herodotus. Pride restrained him from intimating, even to his dearest friends, that he wished to be again minister. But he thought it strange, almost ungrateful, that his wish had not been divined, that it had not been anticipated, by one whom he regarded as his deputy.

Addington, on the other hand, was by no means inclined to descend from his high position. He was, indeed, under a delusion much resembling that of Abou Hassan in the Arabian tale. His brain was turned by his short and unreal Caliphate. He took his elevation quite seriously, attributed it to his own merit, and considered himself as one of the great triumvirate of English statesmen, as worthy to make a third with Pitt and Fox.

Such being the feelings of the late minister and of the present minister, a rupture was inevitable ; and there was no want of persons bent on making that rupture speedy and violent. Some of these persons wounded Addington's pride by representing him as a lacquey, sent to keep a place on the Treasury bench till his master should find it convenient to come. Others took every opportunity of praising him at Pitt's expense. Pitt had waged a long, a bloody, a costly, an unsuccessful war. Addington had made peace. Pitt had suspended the constitutional liberties of Englishmen. Under Addington those liberties were again enjoyed. Pitt had wasted the public resources. Addington was carefully nursing them. It was sometimes but too evident that these compliments were not unpleasing to Addington. Pitt became cold and reserved. During many months he remained at a distance from London. Meanwhile his most intimate friends, in spite of his declarations that he made no complaint, and that he had no wish for office, exerted themselves to effect a change of ministry. His favourite disciple, George Canning, young, ardent, ambitious, with great powers and great virtues,

but with a temper too restless and a wit too satirical for his own happiness, was indefatigable. He spoke; he wrote; he intrigued; he tried to induce a large number of the supporters of the government to sign a round robin desiring a change; he made game of Addington and of Addington's relations in a succession of lively pasquinades. The minister's partisans retorted with equal acrimony, if not with equal vivacity. Pitt could keep out of the affray only by keeping out of politics altogether; and this it soon became impossible for him to do. Had Napoleon, content with the first place among the sovereigns of the Continent, and with a military reputation surpassing that of Marlborough or of Turenne, devoted himself to the noble task of making France happy by mild administration and wise legislation, our country might have long continued to tolerate a government of fair intentions and feeble abilities. Unhappily, the treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed, when the restless ambition and the insupportable insolence of the First Consul convinced the great body of the English people that the peace, so eagerly welcomed, was only a precarious armistice. As it became clearer and clearer that a war for the dignity, the independence, the very existence of the nation was at hand, men looked with increasing uneasiness on the weak and languid cabinet which would have to contend against an enemy who united more than the power of Lewis the Great to more than the genius of Frederick the Great. It is true that Addington might easily have been a better war minister than Pitt, and could not possibly have been a worse. But Pitt had cast a spell on the public mind. The eloquence, the judgment, the calm and disdainful firmness which he had, during many years, displayed in Parliament, deluded the world into the belief that he must be eminently qualified to superintend every department of politics; and they imagined, even after the miserable failures of Dunkirk, of Quiberon, and of the Helder, that

he was the only statesman who could cope with Bonaparte. This feeling was nowhere stronger than among Addington's own colleagues. The pressure put on him was so strong, that he could not help yielding to it; yet, even in yielding, he showed how far he was from knowing his own place. His first proposition was, that some insignificant nobleman should be First Lord of the Treasury and nominal head of the administration, and that the real power should be divided between Pitt and himself, who were to be secretaries of state. Pitt, as might have been expected, refused even to discuss such a scheme, and talked of it with bitter mirth. "Which secretaryship was offered to you?" his friend Wilberforce asked. "Really," said Pitt, "I had not the curiosity to inquire." Addington was frightened into bidding higher. He offered to resign the Treasury to Pitt, on condition that there should be no extensive change in the government. But Pitt would listen to no such terms. Then came a dispute such as often arises after negotiations orally conducted, even when the negotiators are men of strict honour. Pitt gave one account of what had passed; Addington gave another; and though the discrepancies were not such as necessarily implied any intentional violation of truth on either side, both were greatly exasperated.

Pitt declines subordinate office.

Meanwhile the quarrel with the First Consul had come to a crisis. On the 16th of May 1803, the King sent a message calling on the House of Commons to support him in withstanding the ambitious and encroaching policy of France; and on the 22d, the House took the message into consideration.

Pitt had now been living many months in retirement. There had been a general election since he had spoken in Parliament, and there were two hundred members who had never heard him. It was known that on this occasion he would be in his place, and curiosity was wound up to the highest point. Unfortunately, the short-hand writers

were, in consequence of some mistake, shut out on that day from the gallery, so that the newspapers contained only a very meagre report of the proceedings. But several accounts of what passed are extant; and of those accounts the most interesting is contained in an unpublished letter written by a very young member, John William Ward, afterwards Earl of Dudley. When Pitt rose, he was received with loud cheering. At every pause in his speech there was a burst of applause. The peroration is said to have been one of the most animated and magnificent ever heard in Parliament. "Pitt's speech," Fox wrote a few days later, "was admired very much, and very justly. I think it was the best he ever made in that style." The debate was adjourned; and on the second night Fox replied in an oration which, as the most zealous Pittites were forced to acknowledge, left the palm of eloquence doubtful. Addington made a pitiable appearance between the two great rivals; and it was observed that Pitt, while exhorting the Commons to stand resolutely by the executive government against France, said not a word indicating esteem or friendship for the prime minister.

War was speedily declared. The First Consul threatened to invade England at the head of the conquerors of Belgium and Italy, and formed a great camp near the Straits of Dover. On the other side of those Straits the whole population of our island was ready to rise up as one man in defence of the soil. At this conjuncture, as at some other great conjunctures in our history, the conjuncture of 1660, for example, and the conjuncture of 1688, there was a general disposition among honest and patriotic men to forget old quarrels, and to regard as a friend every person who was ready, in the existing emergency, to do his part towards the saving of the state. A coalition of all the first men in the country would, at that moment, have been as popular as the coalition of 1783 had been unpopular. Alone in the kingdom the King looked with

perfect complacency on a cabinet in which no man superior to himself in genius was to be found, and was so far from being willing to admit all his ablest subjects to office that he was bent on excluding them all.

A few months passed before the different parties which agreed in regarding the government with dislike and contempt came to an understanding with each other. But in the spring of 1804 it became evident that the weakest of ministries would have to defend itself against the strongest of oppositions, an opposition made up of three oppositions, each of which would, separately, have been formidable from ability, and which, when united, were also formidable from number. The party which had opposed the peace, headed by Grenville and Windham, and the party which had opposed the renewal of the war, headed by Fox, concurred in thinking that the men now in power were incapable of either making a good peace or waging a vigorous war. Pitt had, in 1802, spoken for peace against the party of Grenville, and had, in 1803, spoken for war against the party of Fox. But of the capacity of the cabinet, and especially of its chief, for the conduct of great affairs, he thought as meanly as either Fox or Grenville. Questions were easily found on which all the enemies of the government could act cordially together. The unfortunate First Lord of the Treasury, who had, during the earlier months of his administration, been supported by Pitt on one side, and by Fox on the other, now had to answer Pitt, and to be answered by Fox. Two sharp debates, followed by close divisions, made him weary of his post. It was known, too, that the Upper House was ever more hostile to him than the Lower, that the Scotch representative peers wavered, that there were signs of mutiny among the Bishops. In the cabinet itself there was discord, and, worse than discord, treachery. It was necessary to give way: the ministry was dissolved; and the task of forming a government was entrusted to Pitt.

Addington ministry resigns.

Pitt was of opinion that there was now an opportunity, such as had never before offered itself, and such as might never offer itself again, of uniting in the public service, on honourable terms, all the eminent talents of the kingdom. The passions to which the French Revolution had given birth were extinct. The madness of the innovator and the madness of the alarmist had alike had their day. Jacobinism and Anti-jacobinism had gone out of fashion together. The most liberal statesman did not think that season propitious for schemes of parliamentary reform; and the most conservative statesman could not pretend that there was any occasion for gagging bills and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act. The great struggle for independence and national honour occupied all minds; and those who were agreed as to the duty of maintaining that struggle with vigour might well postpone to a more convenient time all disputes about matters comparatively unimportant. Strongly impressed by these considerations, Pitt wished to form a ministry including all the first men in the country. The Treasury he reserved for himself; and to Fox he proposed to assign a share of power little inferior to his own.

The plan was excellent: but the King would not hear of it. Dull, obstinate, unforgiving, and, at that time, half mad, he positively refused to admit Fox into his service. Anybody else, even men who had gone as far as Fox, or further than Fox, in what His Majesty considered as Jacobinism, Sheridan, Grey, Erskine, should be graciously received; but Fox never. During several hours Pitt laboured in vain to reason down this senseless antipathy. That he was perfectly sincere there can be no doubt; but it was not enough to be sincere; he should have been resolute. Had he declared himself determined not to take office without Fox, the royal obstinacy would have given way, as it gave way a few months later, when opposed to the immutable resolution of Lord Grenville. In an evil

hour Pitt yielded. He flattered himself with the hope that, though he consented to forego the aid of his illustrious rival, there would still remain ample materials for the formation of an efficient ministry. That hope was cruelly disappointed. Fox entreated his friends to leave personal considerations out of the question, and declared that he would support with the utmost cordiality, an efficient and patriotic ministry from which he should be himself excluded. Not only his friends, however, but Grenville and Grenville's adherents, answered with one voice, that the question was not personal, that a great constitutional principle was at stake, and that they would not take office while a man eminently qualified to render service to the commonwealth was placed under a ban merely because he was disliked at Court. All that was left to Pitt was to construct a government out of the wreck of Addington's feeble administration. The small circle of his personal retainers furnished him with a very few useful assistants, particularly Dundas, who had been created Viscount Melville, Lord Harrowby, and Canning.

Second Pitt administration, May 12, 1804.

Such was the inauspicious manner in which Pitt entered on his second administration. The whole history of that administration was of a piece with the commencement. Almost every month brought some new disaster or disgrace. To the war with France was soon added a war with Spain. The opponents of the minister were numerous, able, and active. His most useful coadjutors he soon lost. Sickness deprived him of the help of Lord Harrowby. It was discovered that Lord Melville had been guilty of highly culpable laxity in transactions relating to public money. He was censured by the House of Commons, driven from office, ejected from the Privy Council, and impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. The blow fell heavily on Pitt. It gave him, he said in Parliament, a deep pang; and, as he uttered the word pang, his lip quivered; his voice shook; he paused; and his hearers

thought that he was about to burst into tears. Such tears shed by Eldon would have moved nothing but laughter. Shed by the warm-hearted and open-hearted Fox, they would have moved sympathy, but would have caused no surprise. But a tear from Pitt would have been something portentous. He suppressed his emotion, however, and proceeded with his usual majestic self-possession.

His difficulties compelled him to resort to various expedients. At one time Addington was persuaded to accept office with a peerage; but he brought no additional strength to the government. Though he went through the form of reconciliation it was impossible for him to forget the past. While he remained in place he was jealous and punctilious; and he soon retired again. At another time Pitt renewed his efforts to overcome his master's aversion to Fox; and it was rumoured that the King's obstinacy was gradually giving way. But, meanwhile, it was impossible for the minister to conceal from the public eye the decay of his health and the constant anxiety which gnawed at his heart. His sleep was broken. His food ceased to nourish him. All who passed him in the Park, all who had interviews with him in Downing Street, saw misery written in his face. The peculiar look which he wore during the last months of his life was often pathetically described by Wilberforce, who used to call it the Austerlitz look.

Still the vigour of Pitt's intellectual faculties, and the intrepid haughtiness of his spirit, remained unaltered. He had staked everything on a great venture. He had succeeded in forming another mighty coalition against the French ascendancy. The united forces of Austria, Russia, and England might, he hoped, oppose an insurmountable barrier to the ambition of the common enemy. But the genius and energy of Napoleon prevailed. While the English troops were preparing to embark for Germany, while the Russian troops were slowly coming up from

Poland, he, with rapidity unprecedented in modern war, moved a hundred thousand men from the shores of the Ocean to the Black Forest, and compelled a great Austrian army to surrender at Ulm. To the first faint rumours of this calamity Pitt would give no credit. He was irritated by the alarms of those around him. "Do not believe a word of it," he said: "it is all a fiction." The next day he received a Dutch newspaper containing the capitulation. He knew no Dutch. It was Sunday; and the public offices were shut. He carried the paper to Lord Malmesbury, who had been minister in Holland; and Lord Malmesbury translated it. Pitt tried to bear up; but the shock was too great; and he went away with death in his face.

The news of the battle of Trafalgar arrived four days later, and seemed for a moment to revive him. Forty-eight hours after that most glorious and most mournful of victories had been announced to the country came the Lord Mayor's day; and Pitt dined at Guildhall. His popularity had declined. But on this occasion, the multitude, greatly excited by the recent tidings, welcomed him enthusiastically, took off his horses in Cheapside, and drew his carriage up King Street. When his health was drunk, he returned thanks in two or three of those stately sentences of which he had a boundless command. Several of those who heard him laid up his words in their hearts; for they were the last words that he ever uttered in public: "Let us hope that England, having saved herself by her energy, may save Europe by her example."

This was but a momentary rally. Austerlitz soon completed what Ulm had begun. Early in December Pitt had retired to Bath, in the hope that he might there gather strength for the approaching session. While he was languishing there on his sofa arrived the news that a decisive battle had been fought and lost in Moravia,

that the coalition was dissolved, that the Continent was at the feet of France. He sank down under the blow. Ten days later, he was so emaciated that his most intimate friends hardly knew him. He came up from Bath by slow journeys, and, on the 11th of January 1806, reached his villa at Putney. Parliament was to meet on the 21st. On the 20th was to be the parliamentary dinner at the house of the First Lord of the Treasury in Downing Street; and the cards were already issued. But the days of the great minister were numbered. The only chance for his life, and that a very slight chance, was, that he should resign his office, and pass some months in profound repose. His colleagues paid him very short visits, and carefully avoided political conversation. But his spirit, long accustomed to dominion, could not, even in that extremity, relinquish hopes which everybody but himself perceived to be vain. On the day on which he was carried into his bedroom at Putney, the Marquess Wellesley, whom he had long loved, whom he had sent to govern India, and whose administration had been eminently able, energetic, and successful, arrived in London after an absence of eight years. The friends saw each other once more. There was an affectionate meeting, and a last parting. That it was a last parting Pitt did not seem to be aware. He fancied himself to be recovering, talked on various subjects cheerfully, and with an unclouded mind, and pronounced a warm and discerning eulogium on the Marquess's brother Arthur. "I never," he said, "met with any military man with whom it was so satisfactory to converse." The excitement and exertion of this interview were too much for the sick man. He fainted away; and Lord Wellesley left the house, convinced that the close was fast approaching.

And now members of Parliament were fast coming up to London. The chiefs of the opposition met for the purpose of considering the course to be taken on the first

day of the session. It was easy to guess what would be the language of the King's speech, and of the address which would be moved in answer to that speech. An amendment condemning the policy of the government had been prepared, and was to have been proposed in the House of Commons by Lord Henry Petty, a young nobleman who had already won for himself that place in the esteem of his country which, after the lapse of more than half a century, he still retains. He was unwilling, however, to come forward as the accuser of one who was incapable of defending himself. Lord Grenville, who had been informed of Pitt's state by Lord Wellesley, and had been deeply affected by it, earnestly recommended forbearance; and Fox, with characteristic generosity and good nature, gave his voice against attacking his now helpless rival. "Sunt lacrymæ rerum," he said, "et mentem mortalia tangunt." On the first day, therefore, there was no debate. It was rumoured that evening that Pitt was better. But on the following morning his physicians pronounced that there were no hopes. The commanding faculties of which he had been too proud were beginning to fail. His old tutor and friend, the Bishop of Lincoln, informed him of his danger, and gave such religious advice and consolation as a confused and obscured mind could receive. Stories were told of devout sentiments fervently uttered by the dying man. But these stories found no credit with anybody who knew him. Wilberforce pronounced it impossible that they could be true; "Pitt," he added, "was a man who always said less than he thought on such topics." It was asserted in many after-dinner speeches, Grub Street elegies, and academic prize poems and prize declamations, that the great minister died exclaiming, "O my country!" This is a fable; but it is true that the last words which he uttered, while he knew what he said, were broken exclamations about the alarming state of public affairs. He ceased

to breathe on the morning of the 23d of January 1806, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day on which he first took his seat in Parliament. He was in his forty-seventh year, and had been, during near nineteen years, First Lord of the Treasury, and undisputed chief of the administration. Since parliamentary government was established in England, no English statesman has held supreme power so long. Walpole, it is true, was First Lord of the Treasury during more than twenty years, but it was not till Walpole had been some time First Lord of the Treasury that he could be properly called Prime Minister. Death, Jan. 23, 1806.

It was moved in the House of Commons that Pitt should be honoured with a public funeral and a monument. The motion was opposed by Fox in a speech which deserves to be studied as a model of good taste and good feeling. The task was the most invidious that ever an orator undertook; but it was performed with a humanity and delicacy which were warmly acknowledged by the mourning friends of him who was gone. The motion was carried by 288 votes to 89.

The 22d of February was fixed for the funeral. The corpse having lain in state during two days in the Painted Chamber, was borne with great pomp to the northern transept of the Abbey. A splendid train of princes, nobles, bishops, and privy councillors followed. The grave of Pitt had been made near to the spot where his great father lay, near also to the spot where his great rival was soon to lie. The sadness of the assistants was beyond that of ordinary mourners. For he whom they were committing to the dust had died of sorrows and anxieties of which none of the survivors could be altogether without a share. Wilberforce, who carried the banner before the hearse, described the awful ceremony with deep feeling. As the coffin descended into the earth, he said, the eagle face of Chatham from above seemed to look down with consternation into the dark house which Public funeral.

was receiving all that remained of so much power and glory.

All parties in the House of Commons readily concurred in voting forty thousand pounds to satisfy the demands of Pitt's creditors. Some of his admirers seemed to consider the magnitude of his embarrassments as a circumstance highly honourable to him; but men of sense will probably be of a different opinion. It is far better, no doubt, that a great minister should carry his contempt of money to excess than that he should contaminate his hands with unlawful gain. But it is neither right nor becoming in a man to whom the public has given an income more than sufficient for his comfort and dignity to bequeath to that public a great debt, the effect of mere negligence and profusion. As first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Pitt never had less than six thousand a year, besides an excellent house. In 1792 he was forced by his royal master's friendly importunity to accept for life the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, with near four thousand a year more. He had neither wife nor child; he had no needy relations: he had no expensive tastes; he had no long election bills. Had he given but a quarter of an hour a week to the regulation of his household, he would have kept his expenditure within bounds. Or, if he could not spare even a quarter of an hour a week for that purpose, he had numerous friends, excellent men of business, who would have been proud to act as his stewards. One of those friends, the chief of a great commercial house in the city, made an attempt to put the establishment in Downing Street to rights; but in vain. He found that the waste of the servant's hall was almost fabulous. The quantity of butcher's meat charged in the bills was nine hundredweight a week. The consumption of poultry, of fish, of tea, was in proportion. The character of Pitt would have stood higher if, with the disinterestedness of

Pericles and of De Witt, he had united their dignified frugality.

The memory of Pitt has been assailed, times innumerable, often justly, often unjustly; but it has suffered much less from his assailants than from his eulogists. For, during many years, his name was the rallying cry of a class of men with whom, at one of those terrible conjunctures which confound all ordinary distinctions, he was accidentally and temporarily connected, but to whom, on almost all great questions of principle, he was diametrically opposed. The haters of parliamentary reform called themselves Pittites, not choosing to remember that Pitt made three motions for parliamentary reform, and that, though he thought that such a reform could not safely be made while the passions excited by the French Revolution were raging, he never uttered a word indicating that he should not be prepared at a more convenient season to bring the question forward a fourth time. The toast of Protestant ascendency was drunk on Pitt's birthday by a set of Pittites who could not but be aware that Pitt had resigned his office because he could not carry Catholic emancipation. The defenders of the Test Act called themselves Pittites, though they could not be ignorant that Pitt had laid before George the Third unanswerable reasons for abolishing the Test Act. The enemies of free trade called themselves Pittites, though Pitt was far more deeply imbued with the doctrines of Adam Smith than either Fox or Grey. The very Negro-drivers invoked the name of Pitt, whose eloquence was never more conspicuously displayed than when he spoke of the wrongs of the Negro. This mythical Pitt, who resembles the genuine Pitt as little as the Charlemagne of Ariosto resembles the Charlemagne of Eginhard, has had his day. History will vindicate the real man from calumny disguised under the semblance of adulation, and will exhibit him as what he was, a minister of great

Estimates of Pitt.

talents, honest intentions, and liberal opinions, pre-eminently qualified, intellectually and morally, for the part of a parliamentary leader, and capable of administering with prudence and moderation the government of a prosperous and tranquil country, but unequal to surprising and terrible emergencies, and liable, in such emergencies to err grievously, both on the side of weakness and on the side of violence.

NOTES.

Page 1, l. 2. **Lady Hester Grenville**, the younger Pitt's mother, was sister of Richard, Earl Temple, and of George Grenville, Prime Minister, 1763-1765. (See *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, p. 58, in this series.) The genealogy of the Grenvilles and Pitts will be useful for reference. (See p. 74.)

l. 11. **In Westphalia ... conquest.** In the battle of Minden, 1st Aug., 1759, the English, Hessians and Hannoverians, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, defeated the French under Marshal de Contades.

l. 13. **Boscawen ... coast of Portugal.** In Lagos Bay (Portugal) Boscawen defeated the French Admiral, De la Clue, 17th Aug., 1759.

l. 14. **Hawke ... Bay of Biscay.** In Quiberon Bay (W. France), Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over the French Admiral Conflans, 20th Nov., 1759.

l. 15. **Johnson took Niagara.** Sir William Johnson captured Fort Niagara, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, from the French under Pouchot, on 24th July, 1759.

l. 16. **Amherst took Ticonderoga** on 26th July, 1759. This fort lay between Lakes George and Champlain.

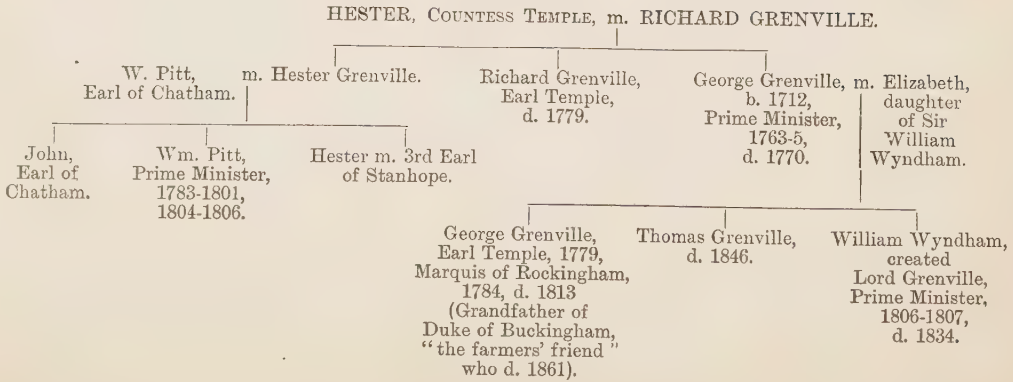
Wolfe died ... Quebec, on 13th September, 1759.

l. 17. **Clive destroyed a Dutch armament in the Hoogley,** at the close of 1759. The Dutch armament consisted of seven large ships from Java with 1400 soldiers on board (see Lecky's *England in Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii., p. 499).

l. 19. **Coote routed Lally at Wandewash,** etc., on 2nd July, 1760. With this passage compare *Earl of Chatham*, p. 44, in this series.

l. 25. **the great William Pitt, the great commoner,** was not raised to the Peerage as Viscount Pitt and Earl of Chatham till 1766.

GENEALOGY OF THE GRENVILLES AND PITTS.


HESTER, Countess Temple, m. RICHARD GRENVILLE.
W. Pitt, Earl of Chatham.
m. Hester Grenville.
Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, d. 1779.
George Grenville, b. 1712, Prime Minister, 1763-5, d. 1770.
m. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Wyndham.
John, Earl of Chatham.
Wm. Pitt, Prime Minister, 1783-1801, 1804-1806.
Hester m. 3rd Earl of Stanhope.
George Grenville, Earl Temple, 1779, Marquis of Rockingham, 1784, d. 1813 (Grandfather of Duke of Buckingham, "the farmers' friend" who d. 1861).
Thomas Grenville, d. 1846.
William Wyndham, created Lord Grenville, Prime Minister, 1806-1807, d. 1834.

Page 2, l. 15. A cruel malady, etc., gout, from which he had suffered from his school-days; the younger Pitt was also a martyr to this disease, which was then (as Lord Rosebery expresses it in his life of the second Pitt) "an appanage of statesmanship." For further account of Chatham's malady see *Essay on William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, pp. 131, 133, 134, in this series.

l. 22. **the Parthenon**, the principal building within the Propylaea of Athens, stood on the highest part of the Acropolis; it was built by the architects Ictinus and Callistratus under the direction of Pericles, and was dedicated to Athena Parthenos (the virgin). It was built entirely of Pentelic marble in the purest Doric style. It remained almost entire till A.D. 1687, when it was accidentally blown up during the siege by the Venetians; it was injured again in 1827. Round the summit of the outer walls was a frieze in bas-relief representing the Panathenaic procession; the slabs of which this frieze was formed are the well-known Elgin marbles in the British Museum.

l. 23. **the Colosseum**. The gigantic Amphitheatrum Flavium, more commonly known as the Colosseum, probably from a colossal statue of Nero, was built in the valley between the Esquiline and Caelian hills of Rome. It was begun by Vespasian and completed by Domitian, and was capable of holding 87,000 spectators.

Page 3, l. 10. Hayley, William, poet and dramatist (b. 1745, d. 1820), wrote the *Afflicted Father, a Drama*, the *Triumphs of Music*, and the *Triumphs of Temper*, poems, and the *Life of William Cowper* (1803). Byron in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* describes his style thus:

> "His style in youth and age is still the same,
> For ever feeble and for ever tame.
> Triumphant first see *Temper's Triumphs* shine!
> At least I'm sure they triumph'd over mine.
> Of *Music's Triumphs* all who read may swear
> That luckless music never triumph'd there."

l. 11. **Lyme** Regis, in Dorset. Hayley used to regret the loss of one golden opportunity which Fortune had thrown in the way of one then as blind as herself. During a summer's residence at Lyme he became acquainted with the two sons of Lord Chatham, then lodging with their tutor in that town. William, the youngest, was then "a wonderful boy of 14 years, who endeared himself not a little to Hayley by admiring his favourite horse, and by riding to show him several romantic spots in the vicinity of Lyme where an earthquake is supposed to have produced a wild and beautiful singularity of appearance in the face of Nature. Some of these scenes had been first remarked and admired by Lord Chatham, who had an eye for all the charms of local scenery in their wildest neglect. Not having the faculty

of second-sight, Hayley could not divine that his young companion was one day to be Prime Minister, and 'his own poetical reserve had prevented his imparting to the wonderful youth the epic poem he had begun on the liberty of their country.' Alas! the minister was not more like Maecenas than the poet was like Virgil." (See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxi., p. 278.)

l. 15. **an extensive literary work**, etc. Hayley meditated an epic poem on a subject from English History and his "passion for freedom" made him fix upon Magna Charta, "taking for his heroes the Barons and their venerable director the Archbishop Stephen Langton"; and he says that he regretted "that his own poetical reserve had prevented his imparting to the wonderful youth the epic poem he had begun on the liberty of their country." (See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxi., pp. 277-278.)

l. 17. **a tragedy.** It is in blank verse and entitled "Laurentius, king of Clarinium"; it was acted twice by the Pitt family before Lord and Lady Chatham, and before Lord and Lady Stanhope about 1774.

l. 19. **Chevening**, near Sevenoaks, Kent, the seat of the Earl Stanhope, who possesses the MS. still.

l. 29. **some Pittite poetaster**, some inferior poet writing in favour of Pitt.

Page 4, l. 15. **North** was at Eton.

Fox, Charles James, was at Westminster and Eton.

Shelburne in his autobiography says, "from the time I was four years old till I was fourteen my education was neglected to the greatest degree. I was first sent to an ordinary publick school; I was then shut up with a private tutor. . . . Soon after fifteen I came to London, where I was suffered to go about to pick up what acquaintance offered, etc. . . . At sixteen I went to Christ Church." (See *Life of William Earl of Shelburne*, by Lord E. Fitzmaurice.)

l. 16. **Windham** was at Eton.

Grey was at Eton.
Wellesley was at Eton.
Grenville was at Eton.
Sheridan was at Harrow.
Canning was at Eton.

Page 4, l. 23. **a clergyman named Wilson** became Canon of Windsor.

l. 35. **Pretyman.** George Pretyman Tomline (for he subsequently took the name of Tomline) a senior wrangler and member of the Royal Society was for a time the tutor of Pitt, and eventually Bishop of Winchester (b. 1750, d. 1827). He wrote *Elements of Christian Theology, a Refutation of the charge of*

Calvinism against the Church of England, and *The Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt.*

Page 5, l. 10. **a Life ... enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work**, etc. Lord Rosebery writes of this life of the second Pitt: "That by Tomline has been severely judged, more perhaps with reference to what it might have been than to what it is; for there are worse books."

l. 26. **Newton's Principia.** Sir Isaac Newton (b. 1642, d. 1727), was distinguished as a natural philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, Member of Parliament and Warden of the Mint. He achieved many successes in science, and promulgated a new theory of light and colours. His grand discovery of the law of gravitation revolutionized the whole study of science. The Newtonian system was first published in 1687 in his great work *Principia Philosophiae Naturalis Mathematica.*

l. 32. **moderator**, at Cambridge, is a public officer appointed to superintend the examinations for degrees and honours.

Page 6, l. 9. **elegiac lines** are couplets of alternate hexameters and pentameters.

l. 9. **Wellesley bade farewell to Eton** in Latin verse beginning thus:

> "Qualis ubi indoctus spectat de litore nauta
> Undique nimbosis marmora versa notis,
> Surgentes fluctus stupet, et fera murmura ponti,
> Et sibi tentandas praescius horret aquas:
> Talis ego, aspiciens propius vada turbida vitae
> Atque tuum jussus linquere, Etona, sinum,
> Terreor, e tuto metuens excedere portu,
> Et dare per vastum parvula vela mare," etc., etc.

The *Farewell Exercise* was written by Richard Colley, Marquis of Wellesley, the eldest brother of the Duke of Wellington, in December 1778, and may be seen in *Primitiae et Reliquiae*, a collection of his poems, mostly Latin.

l. 11. **Canning described the pilgrimage to Mecca.** George Canning won the Chancellor's prize at Oxford for Latin verse in the year 1789, the subject being *The Pilgrimage to Mecca.*

l. 19. **Lycophron's Cassandra.** Lycophron, a grammarian and poet, was a native of Chalcis in Euboea, and lived at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247). He was the author of an extant poem called Cassandra or Alexandra, in which Cassandra is made to prophesy the fall of Troy, with numerous other events. The obscurity of this work is proverbial.

l. 30. **The debate in Pandemonium.** See Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bk. i., l. 752, to Bk. ii., l. 505.

l. 34. **the incomparable speech of Belial** in *Paradise Lost*, Bk. ii., ll. 119-225.

Page 7, l. 4. **Brookes's** Club was founded in Pall Mall in 1754 by twenty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, including the Duke of Roxburgh, the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Strathmore, Mr. Crewe, and Mr. C. J. Fox. It was originally a gaming club, and was farmed at first by Almack, afterwards by Brooks, a wine merchant. The present house in St. James's Street was built at Brooks's expense. It then became a political (Whig) and social club. The following are some of the most eminent members: C. J. Fox, Burke, Selwyn, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, Horace Walpole, David Hume, Gibbon, Sheridan.

l. 14. **Ciceronian Latin prose**, prose composition imitating the Latin of Cicero, the great Roman orator (b. 106 B.C., d. 43 B.C.)

l. 15. **Horatian, Latin Alcaics**, Latin odes imitating the form, rhythm and diction of the alcaics of Horace (b. 63 B.C., d. 8 B.C.). An alcaic ode is composed of several strophes, each strophe consisting of four verses; the first two of which consist of five feet, viz., a spondee or iambus, an iambus, a long syllable and two dactyls; the third verse consists of four feet, spondees or iambi, and a long syllable; the fourth verse consists of two dactyls and and two trochees, *e.g.*

> "Non possidentem multa vocaveris
> Recte beatum; rectius occupat
> Nomen beati, qui deorum
> Muneribus sapienter uti."

Page 8, l. 3. **When he was at home**, at Hayes, near Bromley, Kent.

l. 5. **at Westminster**, *i.e.* in the Houses of Parliament.

l. 8. **Guy's Hospital** is so called after its founder Thomas Guy, the son of a lighter-man and coal-dealer at Southwark. Thomas Guy was apprenticed to a bookseller, but in 1668 began business on his own account; he dealt largely in Bibles which he imported at first from Holland, but subsequently he obtained from Oxford the privilege of printing them. By success in business, a thrifty mode of life, prudent investment in government securities, and fortunate dealings in the South Sea Company, he amassed an immense fortune. In 1707 he built three wards of St. Thomas's Hospital, and at a cost of £18,793 16s. he erected Guy's Hospital, leaving for its endowment £219,499: he also endowed Christ's Hospital with £400 a year (Extracts from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

l. 13. **Fox, who was his senior by eleven years.** Charles James Fox was born 1749, and died in the same year as Pitt, 1806.

l. 25. **One of the young man's visits**, etc. With this paragraph compare the account in the *Essay on the Earl of Chatham*, p. 140, in this series.

l. 31. **Duke of Richmond**, far unlike Lord Chatham, had become eager to close the American contest by a surrender of the British sovereignty. He gave notice of an address to His Majesty for 7th April (1778) entreating the King instantly to withdraw his fleets and armies from the Thirteen Revolted Provinces, and to make peace with them on such terms as might secure their good will. (Lord Mahon, ch. lvii.)

Page 9, l. 8. **the Painted Chamber** is one of the halls of the old palace of Westminster: its walls were decorated with rows of fine pictures in the days of Henry III.; and from these it derived its name: it stood at right angles to Whitehall, which was afterwards the Court of Requests, the site of the House of Lords, that was destroyed by fire in 1854 (see plan, facing title page, and appendix of *Essay on Earl of Chatham*, in this series).

ll. 8-11. **the Abbey ... in the transept**, etc. Both Lord Chatham and William Pitt were buried in the north transept, now called "the Statesmen's aisle," of Westminster Abbey.

l. 12. **His elder brother, now Earl of Chatham**, etc. Lord Rosebery writes of the second Earl of Chatham that "his indolence swamped the superiority of his talents and the popularity of his manners." In 1788 he was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and his want of punctuality earned for him the nickname of "the *late* Lord Chatham."

l. 17. **He had already begun to eat his terms.** A student of law when qualifying to be called to the bar has to eat a certain number of dinners at the hall of his society: this is called "eating his terms."

l. 19. **chambers in Lincoln's Inn.** Every barrister must be a member of one of four ancient societies called Inns of Court, viz., Lincoln's Inn, the Inner and Middle Temples, and Gray's Inn. Lincoln's Inn includes the subordinate Inns of Chancery, Furnival's Inn, and Thavie's Inn. It takes its name from Henry Lacey, Earl of Lincoln, the owner of the site of the present Inn in the reign of Edward II.: probably it became an Inn or Court soon after his death in 1310.

l. 20. **western circuit.** The journey made through the counties of Great Britain by the judges, twice a year, are called circuits. Those in England are called the Home, Norfolk, Midland, Oxford, Western, and Northern circuit respectively.

l. 24. **Golgotha** is the name given to the gallery in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, in which the "heads of the houses" sit on Sunday afternoons to hear the University sermon: it is so called because it is the place of skulls or heads.

l. 27. **a hereditary friend, the Duke of Rutland.** "The brave and lamented Granby had been a friend and follower of Chatham. His eldest son, who was senior by five years to William Pitt, became one of the members for the University of Cambridge, and

in 1779 succeeded his grandfather as Duke of Rutland. Mindful of his hereditary friendship, he sought the acquaintance of William Pitt in the first years of Pitt at Cambridge . . . he spoke to Sir James Lowther, another ally of his house, and the owner of the most extensive borough influence . . . to bring the friend of his friend into Parliament" (Stanhope's *Life of W. Pitt*, vol. i. p. 36).

Page 10, l. 2. **the House of Bourbon,** from which came the royal houses of France, Spain and Italy, derives its origin from Archambands of Bourbon in Berry.

l. 3. **humbled to the dust,** etc. by the battles of Creveldt, Minden, Lagos Bay, Quiberon Bay, Quebec, Wandewash, etc. in 1758-1760.

l. 11. **Hyder,** Hyder Ali or Haidar 'Ali was the most formidable Asiatic rival the English have ever had in India.

the Carnatic or Karnátak stretches along the East, the Coromandel coast, of India from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, and contains Madras, Pondicherry, Trichinopoly and other important cities.

l. 12. **Baillie.** Hyder Ali, with the assistance of the French, descended through the Changama pass and reached Conjeveram, only 45 miles from Madras, unopposed. Then Sir Hector Munro with 5200 troops sought to effect a junction with a smaller body under Colonel Baillie recalled from Guntoor. The attempt was unsuccessful, and Baillie's force of 2800 men was lost (10th September, 1780).

l. 13. **Fort Saint George.** Madras.

The discontents of Ireland, etc. "The utter paralysis of Government, the refusal of the English Parliament to grant the free trade which was indispensable to Ireland, the close affinity between the American cause and that of Ireland, the profound and justifiable discontent at the present condition of Ireland which pervaded all classes, and the creation of a great army, which was a manifest expression of the Protestant sentiment of the country, and which could not be managed or controlled like a parliament of borough mongers were all sufficiently alarming" (Lecky, iv. 487). In the struggle with America the English were obliged to withdraw many of their troops from Ireland, and in 1779 their place was taken by Protestant volunteers, who were allowed to enrol themselves, and were furnished with arms by the government. Encouraged by the example of America these volunteers thought to use their arms as the Americans had done in securing concessions for their country, and in 1780 their attitude was so formidable that the English Parliament annulled many of the restrictions on Irish trade. Emboldened by this success the volunteers supported Grattan in drawing up a Declaration of Right demanding legislative independence forIreland.

l. 17. **The cry for parliamentary reform ... autumn of 1830,** leading up to the Reform Act passed in 1832. "Never perhaps since the convulsions of the Commonwealth had political agitation spread as widely through England as in the recess of Parliament of 1779 and 1780. In nearly every county great meetings were held for the purpose of drawing up petitions. Much was said about the necessity of obtaining a thorough reform of Parliament and much about the necessity of arresting the war in America, but the main subject of complaint was the corrupt influence in Parliament. The agitation unlike that of the Middlesex election was conducted chiefly by the most weighty and most respectable classes of the community. The leading country gentry and even great numbers of the clergy, took part in it, and in most counties it was supported by the great preponderance of property. The counties of York and Middlesex which were two of the most important, and at the same time most representative constituencies in England, led the way by earnest petitions calling for a reduction of expenditure and especially of sinecures and pensions; and no less than 24 counties and several considerable cities passed petitions and resolutions on the corrupt influence of the Crown. A few counter-meetings were held, and strenuous efforts were made by the partisans of the Government to obtain signatures to protests, but on the whole the preponderance both of numbers, property, and influence was decidedly with the Opposition. Committees and associations for agitating the question were in many places formed, and it became customary at these meetings to return public thanks to those politicians who had attempted to prevent or arrest the American War."

l. 19. **Formidable associations,** etc., *e.g.* The "Society for supporting the Bill of Rights," and the "Society for Constitutional Information," a political association projected by John Cartwright, which included among its members some of the most distinguished men of the day. From this Society sprang the more famous "Corresponding Society" (See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Erskine May's *Constitutional History*, ii. 268, 269).

l. 36. **Lord North,** etc. is described by Horace Walpole as "an amiable, worthy man, of no great genius unless compared with his successor."

Page 11, l. 15. **Charles, Marquess of Rockingham,** etc. Compare the description of this nobleman in *Essay on Earl of Chatham*, p. 111, in this series. His nervousness and inability to express his opinions in debate were so great that he could seldom be persuaded or provoked to rise. One night after Lord Sandwich had been plying him in vain with much raillery and eloquence, Lord Gower whispered—"Sandwich, how could you

worry the poor dumb creature so?" In estimating his worth as a statesman, we must remember that he had the advantage of following one of the most unpopular of ministers, and of employing, as his private secretary, Edmund Burke, whose genius has cast a flood of light upon his administration, and imparted a somewhat deceptive glamour to his memory. (See Mahon and Lecky.)

l. 21. **Fox, whose dissipated habits and ruined fortunes,** etc. Fox was addicted to gambling from his youth; when a mere boy he became a member of Almack's gaming club, which was the scene of most reckless play, and night after night he lost large sums: he was not a loser at horse-racing nor in games that required skill, such as whist and picquet, but was ruined by his losses at hazard, and it seems tolerably certain that the "immoderate, constant, and unparalleled advantages" gained over him at the gaming-table were the result of unfair play.

l. 26. **Burke,** etc. Macaulay describes him elsewhere as "in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator ancient or modern." Mackintosh called him "the greatest philosopher in practice the world ever saw." Goldsmith wrote of him in his *Retaliation*:

> "Here lies our good Edmund, whose genius was such,
> We scarcely can praise it, or blame it too much;
> Who born for the universe, narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

Students should read John Morley's *Burke* in English Men of Letters Series.

l. 33. **the old followers of Chatham.** Cf. *Essay on Chatham*, p. 137, in this series. "Round him (Chatham) gathered a party, small in number, but strong in great and various talents. Lord Camden, Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, and Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, were the principal members of this connection."

l. 34. **William, Earl of Shelburne,** and first Marquis of Lansdowne, entered Parliament as member for Wycombe in 1761. He was opposed to the taxation of the American Colonies, and became a supporter of the elder Pitt, and in 1766 took office under him as Secretary of State. Subsequently on the death of Rockingham in 1781, he became Prime Minister; during his ministry he concluded peace with the American colonies and recognised their independence.

l. 36. **Lord Camden, who had formerly held the Great Seal,** *i.e.* was made Lord Chancellor (in 1766).

Page 12, l. 2. **Barré,** Colonel, a soldier of fortune, born in Dublin of humble parents was "found out, pushed and brought into Parliament by Lord Shelburne (in 1761); he had not sat two

days in the House before he attacked Mr. Pitt." He became a very ready debater; he subsequently joined the side of the elder Pitt and voted against the Stamp Act (1765) and, in the following year was appointed to one of the lower offices in the Government. It was Colonel Barré that moved in the House of Commons that the remains of Chatham should be interred at the public charge. In 1780 he declaimed against the Pension List. In 1782 he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy, and in the same year a pension of no less than £3,200 a year was granted to him by Lord Rockingham. To obliterate this pension, Pitt (in 1784) made arrangements for Barré to resign it and receive the Clerkship of the Pells, a sinecure of £3,000 a year for life. (See p. 25, l. 17, *infra*.)

l. 3. **Dunning**, John (b. 1731, d. 1783) after serving his clerkship in his father's office, studied for the Bar. He was counsel for Wilkes: and in 1768 was appointed Solicitor-General: in the same year, through the influence of Lord Shelburne, he was returned to Parliament as member for Calne. In 1778 he seconded Sir George Saville's Roman Catholic Relief Bill. He became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1782, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Ashburton.

l. 7. **Burke's plan of economical reform.** In February, 1780, Burke made a memorable speech presenting to the legislature "a plan for the better security of the independence of Parliament, and the economical reformation of the Civil and other Establishments." With regard to this project Burke knew that "in sweeping away sinecure places and secret pensions he would be robbing the court of its chief implements of corruption and protecting the representative against his chief motive in selling his country. He conceived that he would thus be promoting a far more infallible means than any scheme of electoral reform could have provided for reviving the integrity and independence of the House of Commons" (Morley, see English Men of Letters. *Burke*, p. 88, etc.).

Fox stood up, etc. This really took place on the occasion of Pitt's second speech, but Lord Macaulay by a trifling oversight has transferred the incident to Pitt's first speech. (See Stanhope's *Life of W. Pitt*, vol. i. p. 46.)

l. 21. **Brookes's.** (See p. 7, l. 4, *supra*, and note.)

l. 25. **prorogation** is the continuance of the parliament from one session to another as an adjournment is the continuation of the session from day to day.

l. 26. **western circuit.** (See p. 12, l. 20, *supra*, and note.)

Brief, a short statement, especially that of a client's case, drawn up by a solicitor for the instruction of counsel conducting the case.

l. 28. **Buller,** Sir Francis (b. 1746, d. 1800) was called to the bar in 1772, and in 1778 when only thirty-two years old—he is said to have been the youngest man ever created an English judge—he was made a puisne judge of the king's bench on the recommendation of Lord Mansfield. He often presided for Lord Thurlow in the Court of Chancery.

Dunning. (See p. 12, l. 3, *supra*, and note.)

l. 31. **the surrender of Cornwallis and his army** to Washington at Yorktown on 19th October, 1781; according to Lord Macaulay the news of this disaster did not reach England till 25th November.

Page 13, l. 4. Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, etc. (b. 1740, d. 1811) son of Robert Dundas, who was for many years President of the Court of Session, became Solicitor-General in 1773, and Lord Advocate and joint-keeper of the signet for Scotland in 1775. In 1782 he was made privy councillor and Treasurer of the Navy; and from that time he took a leading part in all the measures of the Pitt administration. In 1801 he retired and was raised to the peerage as Viscount Melville; in 1804, when Pitt again became Premier he was made First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1805 he was impeached by the Commons, and in spite of Pitt's defence of his faithful follower and colleague, the Speaker gave his casting vote against Lord Melville: subsequently the decision was reversed and Lord Melville was acquitted of the alleged misappropriation of public money, and was proved only negligent of his duty with respect to his agents.

l. 14. **Lord George Germaine,** the Secretary of State, supported all the rigorous measures directed against the colonists, and acquired much influence with the king. In 1782 he was created Viscount Sackville of Drayton Manor, Northamptonshire, and Baron Bolebroke of Sussex.

l. 20. **Welbore Ellis,** afterwards Lord Mendip, was a grey-haired placeman of diminutive stature, called by Junius "little mannikin Ellis" and "Grildrig" (See *Letters of Junius*, xxxviii. and xlviii.).

l. 32. **Lord John Cavendish,** the youngest brother of the Duke of Devonshire, was well-read, held in just esteem for his truth and honour, and resolute in his views, though shy and bashful in his manner. "Under the appearance of virgin modesty," says Horace Walpole, "he had a confidence in himself that nothing could equal." Burke, however, had no great opinion of Lord John's abilities or application. He wishes that his friend could be induced "to show a degree of regular attendance on business," and he adds "Lord John ought to be allowed a certain decent and reasonable portion of fox-hunting; but anything more is intolerable."

l. 34. **Thurlow ... continued to hold the great seal** as Lord Chancellor.

Page 14, l. 2. **the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland**, etc. The pay was computed at no less than £5,000 a year (Stanhope).

l. 12. **Seven was a usual number.** In 1770 on the first formation of his Government, Lord North made his cabinet seven in number; the cabinet of the coalition was seven, and in 1783 Pitt himself made his cabinet of seven also.

ll. 32-33. **the persecution of Wilkes and the Middlesex election.** (See p, 16, l. 22, *infra*, and note, also appendix, chronological table.)

Page 15, l. 5. **close boroughs**, etc. He pointed out the great anomaly that some decayed villages, almost destitute of population, should send members to Parliament under the control of the Treasury or at the bidding of some great Lord or Commoner, the owner of the soil; and he asked emphatically "is this representation?" He appealed to the memory of his father, who had held the opinion that unless a more solid and equal system of representation were established, this nation, great and happy as it might have been, would come to be confounded in the mass of those whose liberties were lost in the corruption of the people (Stanhope).

l. 14. **The reformers never again had so good a division till the year 1831**, when Lord John Russell brought forward his Reform Bill, which disfranchised most of the rotten boroughs, and distributed their seats among the large towns and more populous counties. The bill passed with ease through the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Tory majority in the House of Lords on 8th October, 1831. It was sent up to the Lords a second time without success, but on its presentation a third time, the Tory peers allowed it to pass by a considerable majority (106 to 22) 4th June, 1832.

l. 20. **The Chancellor.** Lord Rockingham.

l. 22. **The two Secretaries.** Charles Fox and Lord Shelburne.

l. 27. **Rockingham died**, on 1st July, 1782. "The influenza that carried off Rockingham only accelerated the end of an impossible state of things."

l. 29. **the Duke of Portland**: afterwards the head of the Coalition Ministry of 1783.

Page 16, ll. 7, 8. **During the recess, a negotiation for peace**, etc. The terms of peace between England on the one hand, and America, France and Spain on the other, were settled in the latter part of 1782. By the treaty with France that power was guaranteed, with some slight modifications, the right to fish off Newfoundland, which had been acknowledged by the

treaties of Utrecht and of Paris; and the little neighbouring islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon passed into their complete possession. In the West Indies England restored St. Lucia and ceded Tobago, but received back the important island of Dominica, and the small islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, Senegal and Goree became French; while Fort James and the river Gambia remained English. In India the French regained their establishments in Orissa and Bengal, Pondicherry and Carical, the Fort of Mahé, and the commercial establishment of Surat, they also acquired some considerable trade privileges; and finally the humiliating article of the Treaty of Utrecht which enjoined the demolition of the harbour and fortress of Dunkirk was abrogated.

All the efforts of Spain, by negotiation as well as by arms, to obtain Gibraltar were in vain, but Minorca was once more united to the Spanish crown. Spain retained West Florida, and England ceded to her East Florida. Spain, on the other hand, guaranteed the right of the English to cut logwood in Honduras Bay, and she restored Providence and the Bahama Isles (Lecky, vol. iv., p. 252).

l. 12. **some places in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf of Mexico** is rather vague and scarcely accurate: for of the places mentioned above only Minorca is in the Mediterranean and West Florida is washed by the Gulf of Mexico.

Page 17, l. 11. **Pitt attempted to mediate**, etc. This interview between Pitt and Fox took place on the 11th February, 1783.

Page 18, ll. 1, 2. **it was not till January 1783 that the preliminary treaties were signed.** The provisional articles of peace between England and the United States were signed on 30th November, 1782, and the preliminary articles with France and Spain on 20th January, 1783 (Lecky).

l. 12. **Sheridan.** Richard Brinsley (b. 1751, d. 1816), a distinguished statesman, wit, and dramatist, was educated at Harrow, and at the Middle Temple, but was not called to the bar. His first dramatic work was *The Rivals* (1775), followed by *The Duenna* (1775), *School for Scandal* (1777), and *The Critic* (1779). In 1780 he entered Parliament as member for Stafford. He attained great celebrity as an orator, especially during the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In 1806 he became Treasurer of the Navy, and a Privy Councillor. He had been the boon companion of the Prince Regent, and on the passing of the Regency Bill he was admitted to extraordinary intimacy and confidence by the Regent. At the General Election of 1806 he was chosen member for Westminster. The latter part of his life was embittered by misfortunes, the fruit of his own improvi-

dence, and much of it was spent in miserable attempts to avoid his creditors. But his name will live as one of the most brilliant of perhaps the most brilliant group of orators the world has ever seen. Burke said of Sheridan's oratory: "There, that is the true style—something between poetry and prose, and better than either."

ll. 17 and 18. **Ben Jonson** ... the **Angry Boy**, one of Jonson's best characters in the play of *The Alchymist*.

l. 20. **a majority of sixteen**. The numbers were 224 against 208 for the Government.

Page 19, l. 14. **Thurlow was dismissed**. "The Great Seal was put into commission, the King having striven in vain to keep Lord Thurlow in office" (Stanhope).

l. 35. **William Wilberforce**, the son of a banker at Hull, and owner of a good estate in Yorkshire, was born in the same year as Pitt, but was not sent to Cambridge till three years after him. There the two young men were but slightly acquainted; but at the General Election of 1780 Wilberforce was, after a sharp contest, returned for the town of Hull. Pitt and Wilberforce met frequently in the House of Commons and in social circles, and became fast friends.

Page 20, l. 5. **A French gentleman**. This was the Abbé de Lageard, the delegate of the Archbishop at Rheims.

Page 21, ll. 10, 11. **The members of the Bill of Rights Society**. A "Society for supporting the Bill of Rights" was founded by Horne Tooke in connection with Townshend, Sawbridge, Oliver, and others: in consequence of which a quarrel arose between him and John Wilkes, each charging the other with venality and hypocrisy.

l. 19. **Archbishop Markham**. William Markham (1719-1807), Archbishop of York, the eldest son of Major W. Markham, was born at Kinsale, and educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford; he was appointed Headmaster of Westminster School in 1753, Chaplain to George II. in 1756, Prebendary of Durham in 1759; he retired from the Headmastership of Westminster on being appointed to the Deanery of Rochester and Vicarage of Boxley, Kent. In 1767 he was nominated to the Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford; in 1771 he became Bishop of Chester. In 1776, through the influence of Lord Mansfield, he was appointed Preceptor to the young Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg, but was suddenly dismissed from this post. In Jan. 1777 he was translated to the Archbishopric of York, and appointed Lord High Almoner. In February he preached a sermon in the Parish Church of St. Mary le Bow before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts upholding the doctrine of the Divine

Right of Kings. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Shelburne attacked him for preaching doctrines subversive of the Constitution and Lord Chatham denounced these pernicious doctrines in the House of Lords.

l. 20. **Jenkinson, etc.** "In the Commons the leader of this band (the 'King's Friends') was Mr. Charles Jenkinson, in later years Lord Hawkesbury, and finally Earl of Liverpool" (Stanhope).

l. 21. **Jebb** (John), a divine and physician (b. 1736, d. 1786), was a violent partisan, but hindered by the peculiar complexion of his religious opinions, and by the freedom with which he indulged in the political squabbles of the time from professional progress. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and a contributor to the *Philosophical Transactions*.

l. 22. **Priestley**, Joseph (b. 1733, d. 1804), a dissenting divine, chemist, and natural philosopher, was born at Fieldhead, near Leeds, and educated at Daventry; he was at one time librarian to Lord Shelburne, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. His researches in connexion with air, led to his discovery of oxygen, which he termed "dephlogisticated air." His avowed sympathy with the French Revolution resulted in his house, laboratory, library, and their contents being destroyed by a Birmingham mob. Subsequently he removed to Pennsylvania, U.S., where he died.

Sawbridge, John (b. 1732? d. 1795). Lord Mayor of London, was descended from an ancient and wealthy family of Wye (Kent). In 1768 he was returned as M.P. for Hythe, and at once exerted himself on behalf of Wilkes. As Sheriff of London he returned Wilkes as duly elected for Middlesex five times. Politically he was always opposed to the Aristocratic party, and is described as a stern Republican. In 1783 he introduced a bill to shorten the duration of parliaments, and was supported by Pitt, and other leaders of the House. He was M.P. for London in 1774, and re-elected in 1780, 1784, and 1790.

Cartwright, John (b. 1746, d. 1824), distinguished by his writings in favour of American Independence, and by his public addresses in furtherance of radical reform; he was a brother of Dr. Edward Cartwright, inventor of the power-loom.

Jack Wilkes (b. 1727, d. 1797), was one of the most profane, licentious, and agreeable rakes about town. M.P. for Aylesbury, and editor of the *North Briton*, the 45th number of which was said to be libellous; he was arrested under a general warrant, was subjected to much persecution, and prevented from taking his seat in the House of Commons when chosen as member for Middlesex. (See *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, p. 96, in this series.)

l. 23. **Horne Tooke**, John (b. 1736, d. 1812), was the son of John Horne, and assumed the name of Tooke after being adopted by William Tooke of Purley; he was educated at Westminster, Eton, and St. John's College, Cambridge. Through the persuasion of his family he entered the Church, but his own inclination was for the Bar; but his clerical orders prevented him from being admitted. He became conspicuous as a democratic politician, at first as a friend of Wilkes, with whom, however, he quarrelled, and was, in consequence, attacked by Junius. In 1775 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine for libelling the King's troops in America, by saying that the Americans at Lexington were "murdered" by the English soldiers. He sympathised with the French Revolution, and in 1794 was committed for trial on a charge of High Treason, because of his connexion with the Correspondence Society, the presumed aim of which was the overthrow of the Constitution; but after an able and witty defence he was acquitted. He contested Westminster twice unsuccessfully, but was returned for Old Sarum in 1801. A bill was, however, passed in the ensuing session, declaring clerical persons ineligible as Members of Parliament. Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley* is an original, though somewhat primitive work on Philology.

Page 22, l. 1. **a singularly bold**, etc. See App., p. 137.

l. 25. **the desolation of Rohilcund.** Rohilcund (or Rohilkhand) is a division of the North-West Provinces of India. In 1774 the Nawab of Oude, with the assistance of English troops hired out to him by Hastings, subdued the Rohillas and laid waste their country. **the spoliation of Benares.** Benares, the most populous city in the N.-W. Provinces of India, is on the North Bank of the Ganges, and is the religious centre of Hinduism. Warren Hastings extorted vast sums from Cheyte Singh, the Rajah of Benares, a vassal prince who was slack in contributing to the Mahratta War in 1778. For failing to give £50,000, the unfaithful Rajah was mulcted in the sum of £500,000, and when this was unpaid Cheyte Singh was deposed from his throne.

l. 27. **the tanks of the Carnatic** were used for irrigating the country; but through the impoverished condition of the Madras Government, consequent upon the invasions of Hyder Ali, they were allowed to go to ruin. (See Burke's Speech on Nabob of Arcot's Debts.)

ll. 32-33. **the charter of the greatest corporation in the realm**, that of the East India Company, granted to a company of London Merchants by Elizabeth in 1600.

Page 23, l. 8. **Carlo Khan.** Khan in Northern Asia means a prince or chief, cf. Akbar Khan. Carlo Khan, therefore, is equivalent to Prince Charles. Mr. Fox was wont to ascribe in part the unpopularity stirred against him on his East India Bill

to the impression produced by Sayer's caricatures, especially "Carlo Khan's Triumphal entry into Leadenhall Street" (Stanhope i., p. 189).

l. 31. **The general opinion was ... forty-eight hours after he had accepted.** In a letter to Lord Stanhope, dated 2nd Dec., 1858, Lord Macaulay acknowledges that he was wrong; and adds: "Whenever Black reprints the article separately, as he proposes to do, the error shall be corrected." (See Stanhope's *Pitt*, vol. i., p. 128.) Apparently Temple had demanded too considerable a reward, probably a Dukedom, for his services as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and when this was denied him he retired in sullen magnificence to Stowe.

Page 24, l. 15. **Camden.** Chief-Justice Pratt, Lord Chatham's most intimate friend, was raised to the peerage as Earl Camden in 1765.

l. 19. **Dundas.** (See p. 13, l. 4, *supra*, and note.)

l. 27. **unconquerable firmness**, etc. Wilberforce's journal has the following entry on 23rd Dec., 1783: "Morning Pitt's. Pitt nobly firm. Cabinet formed."

Page 25, ll. 1, 3. **The freedom of the city of London, ... Grocers' Hall.** In the days of Pitt it was necessary that a man should be a Freeman of a Company before he could be free of the city. Now Pitt was already connected with the Worshipful Company of Grocers by patrimony, for his father had been admitted to the honorary freedom in 1757; it was natural, therefore, that he should select this company at the most critical moment of his career for the purpose of taking up the freedom of the city. On the 10th Feb., 1784, the Common Council of London "resolved unanimously that the thanks of this Court be given to the Right Honourable William Pitt for his able, upright, and disinterested conduct as First Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer in the present alarming and critical juncture of affairs," and also "resolved unanimously that the freedom of this city be presented to the Right Honourable William Pitt in a Gold Box of the value of one hundred guineas as a mark of Gratitude for and approbation of his Zeal and Assiduity in supporting the legal Prerogative of the Crown, and the constitutional rights of the People."

The freedom of the Worshipful Company of Grocers was presented to Pitt on 14th February at a Court of the Wardens held at his brother, the Earl of Chatham's house (in Berkeley Square). Pitt accepted an invitation to dine at Grocers' Hall on the 28th February, and the Lord Mayor and Officers of the city did "wait on him at his House in Berkeley Square and presented him with the Resolution of Thanks, and afterwards attended him to Grocers' Hall where Mr. Pitt was sworn into the Freedom of the Company by the Clerk, and also into the Freedom of this

City by Mr. Chamberlain." For many years it was customary for "the immortal memory of William Pitt" to be honoured in solemn silence at all public meetings in Grocers' Hall.

In 1884 a "Centenary Commemoration of the Reception of William Pitt as a Citizen Grocer, in Grocers' Hall, February 28th, 1784, in the presence of the Lord Mayor and officers of the City," was celebrated by the Worshipful Company of Grocers; and for the information of the Guests, a Historical Sketch was prepared and placed on the Tables with a Facsimile of the Caricature of "Master Billy's procession to Grocer's Hall."

[The above is a digest of that sketch, for the loan of which I have to thank Mr. R. V. Somers Smith, the Clerk of the Company.]

l. 3. **Grocers' Hall** of those days stood on the same site as the present building; the entrance was up a narrow street from the Poultry, now called Grocers' Hall Court. The garden then extended across what is now Princes Street, and over part of the site of the present Bank of England.

l. 16. **the Clerkship of the Pells.** Pell (O.F. *pel*, Lat. *pellis*, a skin), (1) a skin, a hide, a pelt; (2) a roll of parchment, a parchment record.

Clerk of the pells, formerly an officer of the exchequer, who entered accounts on certain parchment-rolls called *pell-rolls* (Webster).

l. 19. **became vacant** by the death of Sir Edward Walpole, a younger son of the great Sir Robert.

l. 27. **Colonel Barré** *vid.* p. 12, l. 2, *supra*, and note.

Page 26, l. 25. **the Fitzwilliams, Cavendishes, Dundases, and Saviles**, the great Whig Houses represented by Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Melville, and Sir George Savile respectively.

l. 32. **Walpole**, Sir Robert, was Prime Minister of England twice—first from 1715 to 1717, and again, when Sunderland was forced to resign after the bursting of the South Sea Bubble. Walpole was made Premier in April, 1721, and for more than twenty years his ascendency was complete.

Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of (b. in Devonshire, 1650, d. 1722), the son of Sir Winston Churchill, after his victories at Blenheim (1704), Ramilies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1710), was loaded with honours and rewards; but was subsequently accused of peculation, was dismissed from his post of Captain-General, and retired to the Continent.

Page 27, l. 10. **Ximenes**, Cardinal Francisco (1436-1517), a noted prelate and statesman, was born in Castile, and educated at Salamanca, was appointed Confessor to Queen Isabella in 1492, and in 1495 he became Archbishop of Toledo and High

Chancellor of Spain. On the death of Ferdinand, Ximenes was left Regent of Castile for Charles (afterwards Charles V.), then a youth of sixteen in the Netherlands. He was a bold and determined statesman, an austere and ascetic ecclesiastic. He founded the University of Alcala, where he caused to be printed the great Polyglot Bible of Alcala.

l. 10. **Sully**, a celebrated French statesmen, the constant companion of Henry of Navarre through many vicissitudes. He showed great valour at the siege of Marmande, and in the battles of Coutras, Arques, and Ivry. After the accession of Henry (as Henry IV.), Sully was appointed Minister of Finance, in which capacity he displayed the most brilliant ability; but after the assassination of the King, Sully retired from Court. (B. at Rosny, 1560, d. at Villebon, 1641.)

Richelieu, Armand du Plessis de (b. 1585, d. 1642), a celebrated French cardinal and statesman, who, after completing his studies in Divinity repaired to Rome in order to obtain the Bishopric of Luçon from the Pope. On his return to France he was made Almoner to Mary de' Medici, and in 1616 Secretary of State. Under Louis XIII. he took the lead in public affairs, showing intense hatred and much cruelty to the Calvinists; he reduced Rochelle in 1628. Gregory V. made him a Cardinal, and he was created a Duke and Peer of France. He founded the French Academy, and was a liberal patron of men of letters.

l. 11. **Oxenstiern**, Count Axel (b. 1583, d. 1654), a celebrated Swedish minister, was educated in Germany. In 1611 he became Chancellor or Prime Minister to Gustavus Adolphus. After the battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus was killed, in 1632, Oxenstiern put himself at the head of the Protestant Coalition. After the battle of Nordlingen in 1634, he went to Paris to hold an interview with Richelieu. In 1648 he directed from Stockholm the preliminary negotiations for the peace of Westphalia, which put an end to the Thirty Years' War. During Queen Christina's minority he was head of the Council of Regency. When she assumed the Government he returned to his old office of Prime Minister; but when he could not dissuade her from abdicating he retired into private life. One of his sayings has become proverbial: "Nescis, mi fili, quantilla prudentia homines regantur."

John De Witt (b. 1625, d. 1672), a Dutch statesman and patriot, was for two years pensionary of Dordrecht, and then became Grand Pensionary of Holland; he conducted public affairs with great wisdom, placed the marine in an efficient state, reorganised the finances, and directed the naval war with England till peace was concluded in 1654. In 1667 he induced the States-General to proclaim a "perpetual edict," by which the

office of Stadtholder, which had been hereditary in the House of Orange, was abolished for ever. In 1672 war was declared against the United Province by Louis XIV. of France, Charles II. of England, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Munster. The Dutch suffered a series of reverses, the partisans of the House of Orange incited the populace against the de Witts, and John de Witt and his brother Cornelius were both of them murdered at the Hague.

Warren Hastings (b. 1733, d. 1818), was educated at Westminster School, and went out in 1750 as writer in the service of the East India Company, and gradually rose to the highest civil position in the Company's service—President of the Supreme Council of Bengal. An Act of Parliament altering the constitution of the Indian Government made Hastings Governor-General. He vanquished Hyder Ali, the Mahrattas, and other native powers; he consolidated the power of the Company, and increased its revenue; but the English people were informed that this was accomplished by cruelty, corruption, and unlimited aggression. In 1785 Hastings resigned the Governor-Generalship, and returned to England; on his arrival he was impeached. The trial lasted nearly 10 years, but eventually Hastings was acquitted on every charge. No doubt he was guilty of most of the charges, but his vast services to the Company and to his country outweighed his offences. (See Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings.*)

l. 30. **Montague**, Charles, Earl of Halifax (b. 1661, d. 1715), was born at Horton in Northamptonshire; was educated at Westminster School and at Trinity College, Cambridge; was appointed a Lord of the Treasury in 1691, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694, and First Lord of the Treasury in 1697. On the accession of the Tory party he was impeached on a charge of peculation, etc., but these charges were dismissed. In 1714 he was again made Prime Minister.

Walpole. (See p. 26, l. 32, *supra*, and note.)

l. 32. **Canning**, George (b. in London 1770, d. 1827), was educated at Eton and Oxford; he entered Lincoln's Inn, but abandoned the bar for politics. In 1796 he was appointed Under-Secretary of State, in 1804 Treasurer of the Navy, in 1807 Foreign Secretary; he was returned M.P. for Liverpool four times, in 1812, 1814, 1818, and 1820; and in 1827 he became Premier. He was distinguished for his oratorical ability, poetic power, and brilliancy of wit. (See p. 6, l. 11, *infra.*)

Peel, Sir Robert (b. 1788, d. 1850), was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford: he took double first-class honours, in classics and mathematics. In 1809 he was returned

M.P. for Cashel in Tipperary, in 1812 he was appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1817 he was chosen to represent the University of Oxford, in 1822 he became Home Secretary, and eventually in 1841 was appointed Premier. He is held by some to have been the greatest and most disinterested statesman that England has ever had; he established the constabulary force, supported the Catholic Relief Bill, opposed the Reform Bill of 1832, repealed the Corn Laws, and passed the Bank Charter Act.

l. 36. **during the hundred and seventy years.** Macaulay writes in 1858, *i.e.* one hundred and seventy years after the Revolution of 1688.

Page 28, l. 22. **Charles Townshend** (b. 1725, d. 1767) entered the House of Commons in 1747, and after distinguishing himself as a debater was in 1754 appointed a Lord of the Admiralty. He subsequently acted in succession as Secretary at War, First Lord of Trade and of Plantations, Paymaster of Forces, and, under Chatham, Chancellor of Exchequer. Macaulay describes him as "the most brilliant and versatile of mankind" (*Essay on Chatham*, p. 60, l. 11 in this series). Burke spoke of him as "the delight and ornament of this House and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finished wit, and when his passions were not concerned, of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment" (*Speech on American Taxation*, p. 146, Clar. Press Edition).

l. 23. **Windham**, William (b. 1750, d. 1810), an eminent orator, educated at Eton and University College, Oxford; a member of the Literary Club, and friend of Johnson and Burke; was Chief Secretary to Lord Northington, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland: was returned M.P. for Norwich. After listening to Windham's first speech, Fox congratulated the House on the accession of talent which Mr. Windham brought to it. He subsequently became one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings and Secretary at War in Pitt's Cabinet. As an orator he was classed as fourth only to Pitt, Burke, and Fox; and Canning declared that, if his oratory was not the most commanding, it was of the most insinuating order. He is said to have killed Flood's Reform Bill by the happy phrase, "No one would select the hurricane season in which to begin repairing his house." He followed Burke in his alarm at the French Revolution. In 1794 he accepted office under Pitt with the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Spencer. In 1803 he became leader of the Grenville party against Addington, but would not join Pitt again in 1804, owing to Fox's exclusion from the Cabinet.

l. 35. **Book of Dignities**, containing lists of the official personages of the British Empire, Civil, Diplomatic, Heraldic, Judicial, Ecclesiastical, Municipal, Naval, and Military from the earliest periods to the present time, remodelled and brought down to 1851 by the late Joseph Haydn.

Page 29, l. 7. **Mahrattas** are a numerous people inhabiting a large part of the Western and Central India. They are Hindus, not Mohammedans. The name does not indicate a social caste or a religious sect; it is applied to both high-caste and low-caste Hindus, but to Hindus only.

l. 16. **Prince of the Peace** was the name given to Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, for negotiating the treaty of Basle (1795) between Spain and France; in 1804 Godoy was *generalissimo* of the land and sea forces of Spain.

l. 17. **Steenie**. A nickname given by James I. to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The half profane allusion is to Acts vi. 15, when those who looked on Stephen the Martyr "Saw his face as it had been the face of an angel" (Dr. Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*).

ll. 25 and 26. **the great Attic speeches on the Embassy and on the Crown**, "de falsa legatione" and "de corona," both delivered by Demosthenes against Aeschines.

Page 31, l. 2. **Haterii canorum**, etc. This quotation from Tacitus (*Annals*, iv. ch. 61) means "The melodious and fluent style of Hatarius has perished with himself."

Page 32, l. 16. **race**. Peculiar flavour, taste, or strength, as of wine; that quality or assemblage of qualities which indicates origin or kind, as in wine; hence characteristic flavour, smack "a race of heaven," Shakespeare. "Is it (the wine) of the right race?" Massinger (Webster).

Page 33, l. 2. **Cumberland**, Richard (1732-1811), was educated at Westminster School (a contemporary of Colman, Churchill, Lloyd, and Warren Hastings) and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was elected Fellow of his College, having passed tenth in the Mathematical Tripos, 1750. He was Private Secretary in the Board of Trade to Lord Halifax, and in this capacity made the acquaintance of Bubb Doddington. When Halifax was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Cumberland became Ulster-Secretary, but he was soon supplanted in this office, and had to be content with the less honourable and less valuable position of Clerk of Requests at £200 a year.

In his early youth he wrote a play on "Caractacus" in the Greek Manner; his first legitimate play was published in 1761, on "the Banishment of Cicero."

He now made literature his profession, and brought out in quick succession *A Summer's Tale*, *The Brothers*, *The West*

Indian, The Fashionable Lover, The Walloon, The Jew, Wheel of Fortune, The Battle of Hastings, The Choleric Man, The Detractor, etc., and *Memoirs*, novels, *Arundel* and *Henry*, and a paper the *Observer* in imitation of the *Spectator*, also *A few plain reasons for believing in the Christian Religion*, and poems *Calvary*, etc.

He was so sensitive to criticism that Garrick called him "A man without a skin." Goldsmith dubbed him "The Terence of England, the Mender of Hearts." Sheridan caricatured him as "Sir Fretful Plagiary" in the *Critic*.

l. 3. **Boswell**, James, miscellaneous writer (b. 1740, d. 1795), published *An account of Corsica with Memoirs of General Paoli* (1768), *British Essays in favour of Brave Corsicans* (1769), a series of papers called *The Hypochondriac* in the *London Magazine* (1777-1782), *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785), *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791). (See Macaulay's *Essays* and Carlyle's *Miscellaneous Essays*.)

Matthias, Thomas James (b. 1757, d. 1835), the author of a satirical poem published in 1794, entitled "The Pursuits of Literature," and including some clever sketches of the writer's poetical contemporaries. The notes are full of curious information; indeed, the poem was said to have been written up to them, and not they to the poem, which is now forgotten, though famous in its day.

l. 13. **the magnanimous man ... in the Ethics.** (See Aristotle's *Ethics*, N. IV., iii. 3, etc., etc., on ὁ μεγαλόψυχος.)

l. 27. **He had made more lords than any three ministers that had preceded him.** In the first five years of the administration of Pitt, 48 peers were created, and when he resigned office he had created or promoted upwards of 140. They were nearly all men of strong Tory opinions promoted for political services, the vast majority of them men of no real distinction, and they at once changed the political tendencies, and greatly lowered the intellectual level of the assembly to which they were raised (Lecky, v. 27).

l. 28. **The Garter**, etc. The King had for some time past desired to invest him with the Garter; and he renewed the offer of it on this occasion (the conclusion of the Spanish affair in December, 1790). Stanhope, i. 386.

Page 34, l. 9. **the Clubs of Saint James's Street.** The Cocoa Tree (1746), Brookes's (1764), Boodle's (1762), Arthur's (1765), White's (1730).

l. 18. **Peter Pindar**, the *nom de plume* of John Wolcot (1738-1819), was, says Allibone "always ready to libel kings, lords, or commons without mercy"; the ministry thought it advisable to buy his silence with an annuity of £300 a year. His first

composition, in which he describes himself as "a distant relation of the Poet of Thebes," was entitled: *Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians for* 1782; he wrote also, *The Apple Dumplings and a King, The Lousiad, Whitbreads Brewery Visited by their Majesties, Peeps at St. James*, and other political satires. The name was afterwards assumed by a writer named C. F. Lawler.

l. 19. **Captain Morris.** Charles Morris, a famous English song writer, whose convivial pieces were at one time in high repute (b. 1739, d. 1832); the best known of his songs are *The Toper's Apology, Friends all gone, Billy's too young to drive, Billy Pitt and the Farmer.*

l. 27. **Nancy Parsons**, the mistress of the Duke of Grafton, afterwards Lady Maynard. See *Letters of Junius* for the Duke's infatuation and base conduct.

Marianne Clark, the mistress of the Duke of York.

l. 32. **Tully**, the English form of the *nomen* of Marcus Julius Cicero.

l. 36 and Page 35, l. 1. **Augustus ... Pompeians**, *e.g.* Augustus was patron and friend of Horace, who fought at Philippi on the side of the Pompeians, Brutus, and Cassius, against Antony and Octavianus, B.C. 42. (See Hor., *Od.* II., vii. 9, etc.)

l. 1. **Somers**, John (b. 1650, d. 1716), one of our greatest Statesmen, and also an author, was born at Worchester, educated at the Middle Temple and Trinity College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1676; he was one of the counsels for the Seven Bishops, 1689; he helped to prepare the Declaration of Rights; he became Solicitor-General in 1689, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and Attorney-General in 1692, Lord Chancellor in 1697; and was raised to the Peerage as Baron Somers of Evesham, in the County of Gloucester; he was impeached by the Tories, and acquitted in 1701; was President of the Royal Society in 1702, and President of the Council for 1708-1710. In 1706 he drew up the plan for the union between England and Scotland, and was chosen by Anne as one of the Commissioners to carry it into execution. He died of apoplexy in 1716. As an author he is best known for his legal and political publications; he produced also poetical versions of Ovid's *Epistles of Dido to Aeneas*, and of *Ariadne to Theseus*, and a translation of Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*. He was a patron of Addison. (See *Essay on Addison*, p. 15, l. 3, etc., in this series.)

nonjurors in English History are the small minority of the beneficed clergy that incurred the penalties of suspension and deprivation for refusing to swear allegiance to William and Mary in 1689. The party which was headed by Archbishop Sancroft, Bishop Ken, and five other Bishops, included such

men as Jeremy Collier, George Hickes, William Sherlock, Charles Leslie, and Henry Dodwell.

l. 2. **Harley**, Robert (1661-1724), was made Speaker of the House of Commons in 1701, and Secretary of State in 1708, but was compelled to resign by Marlborough. He soon returned to office with the Tories as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1710, and the Queen created him Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and Lord High Treasurer. He retained this office till a few days before the death of Queen Anne in 1714. After the accession of George I. he was impeached by the Whigs, and committed to the Tower for two years; then after a public trial he was acquitted. After this he retired wholly from public business.

He was a liberal encourager of literature, the patron of Pope and Swift, and a great collector of books. When Defoe was imprisoned in 1704 Harley's Tory principles did not prevent him from interceding in behalf of the author of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*; Harley represented the case to the Queen, and obtained for Defoe not only liberty, but pecuniary relief and employment, which, of one kind or another, lasted until the termination of Anne's reign.

l. 20. **the greatest philologist of the age**, etc. Richard Porson, (b. at East Ruston, Norfolk, 1759, d. 1808), though son of a parish clerk, was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He became Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge and Chief Librarian of the London Institution. He was distinguished for his scholarship and his drunkenness. Lord Byron met him occasionally at Cambridge, and wrote of him, "He used to recite, or rather vomit pages of all languages, and could hiccup Greek like a Helot," etc. Although one of the greatest scholars England has produced, Porson published very little; his *Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms upon the Greek Writers*, and his edition of the *Lexicon of Photius* are his most important works.

l. 26. **The greatest historian of the age**, etc. Edward Gibbon (b. at Putney, 1737, d. in London, 1794), finished his "immortal work," the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, at Lausanne, on 27th June, 1787. **forced by poverty**, etc. See App., p 137.

l. 34. **an aged writer of the highest eminence**, etc., Dr. Samuel Johnson. See App., p. 137.

Page 36, l. 8. **the Task**, a poem in six books by William Cowper, begun in July, 1783, and finished in August, 1784.

l. 13. **the most cruel of all the calamities incident to humanity**, insanity.

l. 17. **the Task.** (See Bk. ii., 233-254.)

> "Time was, when it was praise and boast enough
> In every clime, and travel where we might,
> That we were born her children. Praise enough

To fill the ambition of a private man,
That Chatham's language was his mother's tongue,
And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own.
Farewell those honours, and farewell with them
The hope of such hereafter ! They have fallen,
Each in his field of glory ; one in arms,
And one in council. Wolfe, upon the lap
Of smiling victory that moment won,
And Chatham, heart-sick of his country's shame.
They made us many soldiers. Chatham, still
Consulting England's happiness at home,
Secured it by an unforgiving frown,
If any wronged her. Wolfe, where'er he fought,
Put as much of his heart into his act,
That his example had a magnet's force,
And all were swift to follow whom all loved.
Those suns are set. Oh, rise some other such !
Or all that we have left is empty talk
Of old achievements, and despair of new."

ll. 18-19. **contented himself with reading and admiring the book, and left the author to starve.** An adaptation of Juvenal, i. 74, "Probitas laudatur et alget."

l. 24. **the way in which Lord Grey acted toward his political enemy Scott.** When Scott's friends in 1831 decided that a tour to a milder climate would offer the only chance of prolonging his life, it was decided that he should go to Naples. Captain Basil Hall suggested to Sir James Graham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, that a frigate might be placed at his disposal. The Government (of which Lord Grey was Prime Minister) at once adopted the proposal to Scott's great pleasure ; and his eldest son obtained leave to sail with his father. (See Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ch. lxxx., and *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

l. 28. **the way in which Burke, a poor man and out of place, acted towards Crabbe.** Mr. John Morley in his *Life of Burke* (see English Men of Letters, *Burke*, p. 113) tells the story thus : "When Crabbe came up from his native Aldborough, with three pounds and a case of surgical instruments in his trunk, he fondly believed that a great patron would be found to watch over his transformation from an unsuccessful apothecary into a popular poet. He wrote to Lord North and Lord Shelburne, but they did not answer his letters ; booksellers returned his copious manuscripts ; the three pounds gradually disappeared ; the surgical instruments went to the pawnbroker's ; and the poet found himself an outcast on the world, without a friend, without employment, and without bread. He owed money for his lodging, and was on the very eve of being sent to prison,

when it occurred to him to write to Burke. It was the moment (1781) when the final struggle with Lord North was at its fiercest, and Burke might have been absolved if, in the stress of conflict, he had neglected a begging-letter. As it was, the manliness and simplicity of Crabbe's application touched him. He immediately made an appointment with the young poet, and convinced himself of his worth. He not only relieved Crabbe's immediate distress with a sum of money that, as we know, came from no affluence of his own, but carried him off to Beaconsfield, installed him there as a member of the family, and took as much pains to find a printer for *The Library* and *The Village* as if they had been his own poems. In time he persuaded the Bishop of Norwich to admit Crabbe, in spite of his want of a regular qualification, to holy orders. He then commended him to the notice of Lord Chancellor Thurlow. Crabbe found the Tiger less formidable than his terrifying reputation, for Thurlow at their first interview presented him with a hundred pound note, and afterwards gave him a living. The living was of no great value, it is true; and it was Burke who, with untiring friendship, succeeded in procuring something like a substantial position for him, by inducing the Duke of Rutland to make the young parson his chaplain. Henceforth Crabbe's career was assured, and he never forgot to revere and bless the man to whose generous hand he owed his deliverance."

l. 34. **A Mæcenas**, the friend of Augustus, and a munificent patron of men of letters, of Virgil, Horace, and others.

a Leo. Leo X., second son of Lorenzo de Medici the Magnificent, was a liberal patron of men of learning and genius, particularly poets. (B. 1475, d. 1521.)

Page 37, ll. 11-13. the Horæ Paulinæ ... Christianity. All works by Dr. William Paley (b. 1743, d. 1805).

l. 13. **Paley**, Dr. William (b. at Peterborough, 1743, d. 1805), was educated at Giggleswick and Christ's College, Cambridge; though Pitt gave him no benefice Paley had his share of church preferment; he was successively Vicar of Appleby, Prebendary of Carlisle, Vicar of Dalston, Chancellor of Carlisle, Prebendary of St. Paul's, sub-Dean of Lincoln, and Vicar of Bishop-Wearmouth.

l. 16. **Sculptors.** During the 18th century English sculpture was mostly in the hands of Flemish and other foreign artists, of whom Rubiliac (1695-1762), Scheemakers (1691-1773), and Rysbrack (1694-1770) were the chief. Nollekens (1737-1823), a pupil of Scheemakers, though one of the most popular sculptors of the 18th century, was a man of very little real ability. John Bacon (1740-1799) was in some respects an abler sculptor. John Flaxman (1755-1826) was in England the chief imitator of the

classical revival, etc. (See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Sculpture.")

Page 38, ll. 17-31. the public debt ... a new sinking fund ... no remedy. Lord Rosebery explains clearly Pitt's "plan for the redemption of the National Debt, which his contemporaries regarded as his highest claim to renown, and which is accordingly inscribed on the scroll to which he is pointing in Laurence's majestic portrait. The merits of his plan were twofold. He created an independent Board of Commissioners for the reduction of the debt, to whom a million was to be annually paid; they were to be officials of the highest character and distinction; the Speaker, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Accountant General, the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England; and in this form the Board exists to this day. With the million allotted to them they were to purchase stock. This stock was not to be cancelled, and so would continue to bear interest; and this interest would be received by the Commissioners and applied to the purchase of stock in addition to the annual million placed to their disposal for the same purpose. The signal merit of this scheme was that by these means the Sinking Fund so formed was in the hands of a permanent and substantive body, whose action could be controlled only by the direct interference of Parliament, and would not be tampered with for the passing needs of a ministry. There was the further indirect advantage that there was extracted from the pockets of the taxpayer for the redemption of debt not merely the annual million, but also the amount of the interest of the stock purchased. These were the real benefits, of which the second was not merely subordinate, but kept in the background. The attractions held forth were far more dazzling, but absolutely fallacious. The great discovery was supposed to be the accumulation of the fund at compound interest. This was the golden vision held out by Dr. Price, with the fanaticism of an alchemist; a fanaticism which culminated in the declaration that 'war while such a scheme was going on would increase its efficacy.' The error was not merely fundamental, but disastrous; for the nation was deluded into the belief that it mattered little what was spent in war, if only the Sinking Fund was regularly maintained. As a matter of course, however, the compound interest, as it was called, was only the produce of taxation or loans. To grow of its own virtue and essence, in the manner described by Price, the Sinking Fund should have been invested in some remunerative form of productive industry, with a constant reinvestment of the profits; as it was it only represented the sums, whether in the shape of annual capital or of the interest paid on the stock purchased, that Parliament chose to set apart for the payment of debt. All the money, in fact, came from the same source. Its real value lay in the fact that it was an honest and

steadfast method of paying off debt; and experience tells us that debt is in reality only reduced by the patriotic resolve of Parliament; which is rendered doubly efficient when, as in Pitt's scheme, the Fund devoted to debt redemption is placed beyond the casual interference of a needy minister, and when its operations are scarcely perceptible to a public justly, if sometimes ignorantly, impatient of taxation. It is probable that Pitt grasped this truth, and was not for long the dupe of Price's fantastic calculations. Frere, at least, says that this was so, and that Pitt mainly valued his Sinking Fund as a means of inducing the nation to submit to the irksome and unpopular operation of paying off debt."

l. 33. **both the branches of the House of Bourbon**, France and Spain.

l. 36. **England interposed** in 1787. "Honour is due to the firm attitude of the British Government; and the treaties of alliance between Great Britain on the one side and Prussia and Holland on the other marked the first diplomatic success that England had achieved for a century. . . . Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, represented the English interest and has preserved for us the Minutes of a Cabinet held on 23rd May, 1787. Pitt then said that, though war was only a possible not a probable result of the affair, yet that the mere possibility should make England pause, and consider whether anything could compensate for arresting the growing affluence and prosperity of the country—a growth so rapid as to make her in a few years capable of grappling with any force that France could raise. He was in fact nursing England through the convalescence after the American War for the possibility of a great effort; and it was difficult by any allurements of foreign success to induce him to forsake the course which he had marked out until the fulness of time should come" (Rosebery, pp. 100-101).

Page 39, l. 1. **Spain interrupted by violence the trade of our merchants with the regions near the Oregon**, etc. This is an allusion to what is known as the Nootka Sound incident; the Spaniards in 1789 captured two English vessels off Vancouver Island and took possession of our settlement at Nootka Sound. Pitt pursued a firm but conciliatory course, when he demanded reparation, and the affair was settled amicably by a convention in 1790.

l. 21. **Grenville**, George, Prime Minister, 1763-5.

l. 22. **Rockingham**, Lord, Prime Minister, July 1766, and March to July, 1782.

Chatham, Lord, with Newcastle, formed the "Coalition" Ministry, 1757-1762. He was in office again with Duke of Grafton as nominal chief, 1766-1768.

l. 28. **in secret advisers**, *e.g.* Bute, Jenkinson, and others.

l. 34. **his friends.** Macaulay describes these men in his *Essay on Chatham*, No. 2 (p. 117, in this series), as "a reptile species of politicians never before and never since known in our country. These men disclaimed all political ties except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party, to assault any party, at a moment's notice. To them all administrations, and all oppositions were the same. They regarded Bute, Grenville, Rockingham, Pitt, without one sentiment either of predilection or aversion. They were the King's friends, etc., etc." See also Burke, *Thoughts on the Cause of Present Discontents*.

Page 40, l. 5. **Any attempt to undermine him at Court, any mutinous movement**, etc., *e.g.* Lord Thurlow was dismissed.

l. 10. **the Coalition** between Fox and North.

l. 11. **Mayor of the Palace.** These officers existed from an early date among the Franks. The *Majordomus* was originally, as the name implies, the King's principal domestic, the master or comptroller of the household. He superintended the interior concerns of the palace, and exercised a certain authority over the *leudes* or *antrustions* of the King. It was his duty to maintain order within the precincts of the court, to decide disputes among the nobles, and to direct the general economy of the royal establishment. The appointment was of course vested in the King and held during his pleasure. Gradually, however, and in consequence of the jealousy which arose between the crown and the aristocracy, the Mayor of the Palace became the leader of the aristocratical faction and usurped political power; and by successive encroachments the office was at length wrested from the King and became elective in the hands of the nobles. A rival power was thus constituted in the state, the inevitable tendency of which was to supplant and overturn the Merovingian dynasty. Pepin of Landen, Pepin of Heristal, Ebroin, and Charles Martel, were Mayors of the Palace. (See *Student's France*, p. 56, etc.)

l. 27. **the great indiscretion of asserting**, etc. Fox asserted an inherent and, as it were, a divine right in the Prince of Wales. Thus he seemed to be treading in the footsteps of Filmer and Bancroft, rather than of Somers and Burnet. Pitt noted the indiscretion and whispered triumphantly to a neighbour, "I'll *unwhig* the gentleman for the rest of his life!" (Stanhope, i. 323).

Page 41, l. 24. **Barbara Palmer**, the mistress of Charles II. till 1670, and mother of the Dukes of Cleveland, Grafton, Norfolk.

l. 25. **Louisa de Querouaille**, another mistress of Charles II., who was created Duchess of Portsmouth, and was mother of the Duke of Richmond.

l. 27. **his one virtuous attachment** to Mrs. Fitzherbert, a widow lady who held the Roman Catholic faith. She was of gentle birth and of great beauty; and both in her widowhood and in her two former marriages had borne an irreproachable character (Stanhope, i. 263).

l. 31. **Pitt could, with general approbation, propose to limit the powers of the Regent.** Stanhope (i. 313) writes: "He would, by the authority of Parliament, impose some restrictions on the Regency for a limited time, so that the Sovereign might resume his power without difficulty in case his reason were restored."

l. 35. **Some interested men...went over to the opposition.** Lord Rosebery writes: "English or Scottish rats, like Aubrey and Queensberry, cursed their evil star. The rats of Dublin Castle endeavoured to return, not wholly without opposition."

Page 42, l. 23. **Carr**, Robert, the handsome but worthless favourite of James I., who became Earl of Somerset, but was afterwards disgraced for being concerned with his wife in a murder.

Villiers, George, another handsome favourite upon whom James I. showered honours.

l. 24. **Walpole**, Sir Robert, was Prime Minister of England twice -first from 1715 to 1717; and when Sunderland was forced to resign after the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, Walpole was again made Premier (April 1721), and held that office practically without a break for 21 years.

l. 25. **Pelham**, Sir Henry, in conjunction with his brother the Duke of Newcastle, was supported by a vast amount of family and borough influence, and succeeded in overthrowing the Ministry of Walpole, and in 1743 became the first Lord of the Treasury. The same year he was also named Chancellor of the Exchequer; in 1744 he resigned, but was recalled to office in a few days, and continued to be Prime Minister until his death in 1754.

l. 26. **Wilkes** (see p. 21, l. 22, *supra*).

Sacheverell, Henry (b. 1672, d. 1724), an English divine, distinguished chiefly for his two famous sermons—one at Derby, the other at St. Paul's—in maintenance of the doctrine of non-resistance, the object of which was to create alarm for the Church, and to excite hostility among the Dissenters. He was impeached by the Whigs in the House of Commons, and was suspended from preaching for three years. The light sentence passed upon him was regarded as an acquittal, and the result of the trial was interpreted as a Tory triumph. This prosecution

made Sacheverell the Martyr of the High Church party, and no less than 40,000 copies of his sermons were sold.

l. 31. **to furnish the set of chambers**, etc. Pitt looked forward to his own immediate dismissal from the public service, and he had determined to return to the practice of his profession at the Bar (Stanhope, i. 313).

l. 35. **The voluntary contributions ... in the city of London.** The merchants of London met and voted £100,000 to place him beyond the accidents of politics. Pitt might without cavil have taken this offering, so honourable to both parties. But he would not even entertain it. He waved it aside with disdain. "No consideration upon earth," he said, "shall ever induce me to accept it." And yet at the time he was insolvent (Rosebery, p. 92).

Page 43, l. 8. **the States-General of France**, in which the three orders met from time to time at invitation of the King, was an assembly of clergy, nobles, and "third estate" or commons. The three formed three entirely independent chambers, sitting, debating, and voting separately.

l. 28. **state prosecution ... of Stockdale.** On the 9th of December (1789) came on before Lord Kenyon the trial of Mr. John Stockdale. He had been the publisher, two years before, of a pamphlet which contained some violent language against the promoters of Hastings' trial. In February, 1788, Fox had brought it before the House of Commons as an heinous case of libel. "I admit libel," said Pitt, "and I observe that I am myself comprised in it, yet I see nothing so peculiarly heinous as to warrant our singling out this publication from the general mass." Nevertheless Fox prevailed. He moved and carried an address to the King, desiring that the author and publisher might be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. When the trial came on Erskine was counsel for Stockdale, and delivered one of the most masterly of his many masterly speeches at the Bar. The result justified the prudence of Pitt, for the jury after some deliberation brought in a verdict of Not Guilty (Stanhope, i. 353, etc.).

l. 33. **a judicious plan for the improvement of the representative system.** He proposed to disfranchise 36 decayed boroughs, each returning two members, and by means of the 72 seats thus obtained to assign additional representatives to the largest counties, and to the cities of London and Westminster. "But in the counties," added Pitt, "there is no good reason why copyholders should not be admitted to the franchise as well as freeholders; and such an accession to the body of electors would give a fresh energy to representation." And in the boroughs he disclaimed all idea of compulsion. A fund of a million sterling was to be established to compensate in various degrees the

several borough proprietors, and each borough should be invited to apply by petition from two-thirds of its electors. Thus even in the case of burgage tenures, or of the very smallest hamlet, the franchise would not be forcibly resumed, but freely surrendered. Thus the extinction of the 36 small boroughs would be in a short time quietly effected. But as to the future, if any boroughs beyond these 36 were, or grew to be, decayed and below a certain definite number of houses, such boroughs should have it in their power to surrender their franchise on an adequate consideration, and their right of sending members to Parliament should be transferred from time to time to populous and flourishing towns (Stanhope, i. 203, etc.).

Page 44, l. 5. Lord Grey could accomplish only by means, etc. An allusion to the riots and their suppression prior to the Reform Bill of 1832.

l. 12. **the horrors of the middle passage.** "In Africa the native chiefs engaged in forays, sometimes even on their own subjects, for the purpose of procuring slaves to be exchanged for Western commodities. They often set fire to a village by night, and captured the inhabitants when trying to escape. . . . To the miseries suffered by the captives in their removal to the coast were added the horrors of the middle passage. Exclusive of the slaves who died before they sailed from Africa, 12½ per cent. were lost during their passage to the W. Indies; at Jamaica 4½ per cent. died while in the harbours or before the sale, and one third more in the 'seasoning.' Thus out of every lot of 100 shipped from Africa 17 died in about 9 weeks, and not more than 5 lived to be effective labourers in the islands" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

l. 14. **the opposition of some of his own colleagues,** viz. of Thurlow, Sydney, and others.

l. 19. **the Appropriation Act,** applying all the grants for the service of the year, is not passed till nearly the close of a session.

l. 26. **the inestimable law,** etc. Fox's Libel Bill was supported by Pitt and passed the Commons easily, but in the House of Lords was strenuously opposed by Lord Thurlow, Bathurst, and Kenyon: the second reading, however, was moved by Lord Camden, and the Bill became law in 1793. It enabled juries to give a verdict as to the character of an alleged libel as well as to the fact of its publication.

l. 30. **In the debate on the Test Act,** etc. Attempts were made—reluctantly opposed by Pitt under the pressure of the bishops—to repeal, in the interests of the Nonconformists, those obsolete clauses of the Test Act which still remained on the statute-book. Fox proposed the repeal; he was opposed by Pitt,

Burke, and Wilberforce, and three-fourths of the House because the total subversion of the Church was the avowed object of some of the leading Dissenters—Price, Priestley, and others.

Page 45, l. 10. a Hannibal sworn in childhood by his father, etc. An allusion to Livy, xxi., ch. i.: "Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem pueriliter blaudientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris jure juarando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem, fore populo Romano." There is a story too that Hannibal, a lad of about nine years, coaxed his father Hamilcar that he might be taken into Spain; and that when at the close of the African War Hamilcar was offering sacrifice just before crossing over thither, Hannibal was led up to the altar, his hands placed on the victims, and he was bound by an oath to be the foe of the Roman people, as soon as he had the power.

l. 13. **Jacobins** derived their name from the refectory of the convent of the Jacobin brothers, where this secret society of the more thorough revolutionists used to meet.

l. 15. **the first coalition** of Prussia and Austria against France.

l. 19. **a wise and liberal treaty of commerce**, signed by Mr. Eden and M. de Rayneval on 26th September, 1786, was to continue in force twelve years. It stipulated that the subjects of the two contracting parties might import in their own vessels into the European dominions of each other every kind of merchandise not especially prohibited. They and their families might reside, either as lodgers or as householders, free from any restraint in matters of religion, and from any impost under the name of head-money or *argent du chef*; free also to travel through the country or depart from it without licenses or pass ports. The wines of France were to be admitted into England at no higher duties than those of Portugal, and the duties of French brandy, vinegar, and oil of olives were also much reduced. Pitt's object was to put an end, as far as possible, to prohibitions and prohibitory duties. He did not seek to reduce or endanger the revenue by abolishing the custom duties altogether, but to impose only moderate duties, which would really be levied on all articles imported and would deal a death-blow to the contraband trade (Stanhope, i. 251).

l. 20. **He was told in the House of Commons**, etc., by Sir Philip Francis. And in the *Letters to Junius* he writes, "Sir, the glory of Lord Chatham is founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the House of Bourbon. The present Minister has taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of his son."

l. 30. **alien bills.** The Alien Bill, which was introduced in 1792 as a measure directed against revolutionary propagandism, though severe and harassing to foreigners, was not extraordinary when the circumstances and opinions of the time are considered.

gagging bills. On the occasion of the opening of Parliament in 1801, the King was shot at, and pelted, and his coach was wrecked. These outrages were followed by a "Treasonable Practices Bill," and a "Seditious Meetings Bill," both of which were interferences with the liberty of the subject, to be justified only by extreme necessity. In 1799 an Act was passed for putting an end to "The Society of the Friends of the People" and similar societies, and forbidding the formation of others under specified conditions.

l. 31. **suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act.** (See p. 52, l. 21, *infra*, and note.)

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Gagging Bills, the Alien Bills, and State Prosecutions form a painful historical episode. But the discredit belongs as much to Grey and Lauderdale as to Pitt. Grey always spoke regretfully of his share in the formation of the Society of the Friends of the People.

Page 46, l. 4. A satirist of great genius. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in a dialogue entitled "Fire, Famine, and Slaughter. A war eclogue. With an apologetic preface."

l. 13, etc. **By the French press and the French tribune every crime ... was ascribed to the monster Pitt and his guineas.** Against the English Minister especially the violence of popular declamation knew no bounds. Even among the more moderate Girondins we find him designated as "that monster Pitt." But although the democratic rage against him continued in full force during the next few years, it is remarkable that the grounds of accusation were from time to time completely changed. During the Reign of Terror it was said that he had in his pay all the chief Royalists of France, exciting them not only to open resistance, as at Lyons and Toulon, but also to such evil deeds as the assassination of Marat. After the Reign of Terror it was said that he had in his pay all the chief Jacobins of France, urging them forward by dint of English guineas, and trusting by their excesses to cast more and more disgrace on the Revolutionary cause. And as far as we now can gather, these opposite charges were received by the same public with an equal credulity (Stanhope, ii. 13).

l. 16. **the Jacobins,** the extreme Revolutionists.

l. 17. **the Gironde,** the moderate Revolutionists.

l. 18. **who had raised Lyons and Bordeaux against the Convention.** The great commercial cities of Lyons and Bordeaux cast

off the yoke of the Jacobins, though without proclaiming Royalty.

the Convention was the Revolutionary Assembly.

l. 19. **who had suborned Paris to assassinate Lepelletier.** (See Carlyle III., ii. 7.) "It was five on Saturday evening when Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau having given his vote, *No Delay*, ran over to Février's in the Palais Royal to snatch a morsel of dinner. He had dined and was paying. A thick-set man 'with black hair and blue beard,' in a loose kind of frock, slipped up to him; it was as Février and the bystanders bethought them, one Pâris of the old King's Guard, 'Are you Lepelletier?' asks he. 'Yes.' 'You voted in the King's business?' 'I voted Death.' 'Scélérat, take that,' cries Pâris, flashing out a sabre from under his frock, and plunging it deep in Lepelletier's side. Février clutches him; but he breaks off; is gone."

l. 20. **Cecilia Regnault to assassinate Robespierre.** (See Carlyle III., vi. 3.) "It is still but the 23rd of May, and towards nine in the evening, Cécile Rénault, Paper-dealer's daughter, a young woman of soft blooming look, presents herself at the cabinet-maker's in the Rue Saint-Honoré; desires to see Robespierre. Robespierre cannot be seen; she grumbles irreverently. They lay hold of her. She has left a basket in a shop hard by; in the basket are female change of raiment, and two knives! Poor Cécile, examined by Committee, declares she 'wanted to see what a tyrant was like.' The change of raiment was 'for my own use in the place I am surely going to.' 'What place?' 'Prison; and then the guillotine.' . . . O, Pitt, and ye Faction of the Stranger, shall the Republic never have rest," etc., etc.

l. 21. **the Thermidorian reaction.** In the Revolution Calendar, the 28th July, 1794 (the date of the execution of Robespierre, and end of the Reign of Terror) is called 10 Thermidor, Year 2. Thermidor, or "Hot Month" was from 19th July to 18th August. And those that took part in the coup d'état, which effected the fall of Robespierre with the desire of restoring the legitimate monarchy were called Thermidorians.

l. 22. **Collot D'Herbois**, one of the "great" twelve composing the Executive Committee of the Revolutionists, which held office from September, 1793, to July, 1794; the other eleven members were Robespierre, Carnot, Billaud-varenne, Prieur (of the Marne), Prieur (of the Côte d'Or), Jean Bon Saint-André, Robert Lindet, Hérault de Séchelles, Barère, Couthon, Saint-Just.

l. 23 **Fouquier Tinville** was the Attorney-General of Revolutionary Tribunal, and present at the trial of Danton, Desmoulins, Robespierre, and others of the Moderates; Tinville, alarmed at the eloquence of Danton, procured from the Committee of Public

Safety a decree which closed the mouths of the accused; armed with this, and the false charges of a spy, Tinville, by threats and beseechings at last obtained from the jury a sentence of death, which was passed in the absence of the accused, and was executed the same day.

l. 24. **the murderers of September**, the assassins of the prisoners (in 1792) at Paris were called "les Septembriseurs."

l. 25. **the pamphlets of Marat**, viz.: *Offrande à la Patrie* (1788); *La Constitution* (1789); *Tableau des Vices de la Constitution d'Angleterre* (1789). After this he started a paper, a single number of the *Moniteur Propre*, followed on September 12th, 1789, by the first number of the *Publiciste Parisien*, which on September 16th took the title of *L'Ami du Peuple.*

the Carmagnoles of Barère. Carmagnole has many applications; a red republican song in the first French revolution; so called from Carmagnola in Piedmont, the great nest of the Savoyards, noted for street music and dancing; other revolutionary songs, *e.g.* "Ça ira," the "Marseillaise," the "Chant du Depart." Besides the songs, the word is applied to the dress worn by the Jacobins, consisting of a blouse, red cap, and tricoloured girdle; to the wearer of this dress, or any violent revolutionists; to the speeches in favour of the execution of Louis XVI. called by Barère "des Carmagnoles"; and lastly to the dance performed by the mob round the guillotine (Brewer).

l. 26. **Lebon to deluge Arras with blood.** "Representative Lebon (an ex-Priest), at Arras, dashes his sword into the blood flowing from the guillotine; exclaims, 'how I like it.'" (Carlyle.)

Carrier to choke the Loire with corpses. Carrier was one of the actors most famous for cruelty in the Reign of Terror. He was sent to Nantes in October, 1793, under orders from the Convention to suppress the revolt which was raging by the most severe measures. Nothing loath he established a revolutionary tribunal, and formed a body of desperate men, called the Legion of Marat, for the purpose of destroying in the swiftest way the masses of prisoners in the jails. The form of trial was soon discontinued, and the victims were sent to the guillotine or shot, or cut down in the prisons *en masse*. He also had large numbers of prisoners put on board a vessel with a trap-door in the bottom, and sunk in the Loire by night. This process, first of the *Noyades* at Nantes, called by its inventor "republican baptism," was twenty-five times repeated, so that the river became polluted with corpses, and a decree was issued prohibiting the drinking of its water; and even in this wholesale slaughter of men, women, and little children there were special aggravations (*Encycl. Brit.*)

Page 47, l. 13. **During a short time the nation, and Pitt... looked with interest and approbation on the French Revolution,** *e.g.* a few days after the taking of the Bastille we find Fox exultingly exclaim, "How much is it the greatest event that ever happened in the world! And how much the best!"

l. 16. **the domination of clubs,** *e.g.* the Cordeliers club and the Jacobins club.

l. 27. **Burke set the example of revolt.** In 1790 Burke delivered the first of his beautiful philippics, spoken or written, against the French Revolution. "Since the House," he said, "was prorogued in the summer much work has been done in France. The French have shown themselves the best architects of ruin that had hitherto existed in the world. In that very short space of time they have completely pulled down to the ground their Monarchy, their Church, their nobility, their law, their revenue, their army, their navy, their commerce, their arts, and their manufactures. They have done their business for us as rivals, in a way which twenty Families or Blenheims could never have done. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to lie prostrate at our feet, we should be ashamed to send a commission to settle their affairs which would impose so hard a law upon the French, and so destructive of all their consequence as a nation, as that they had imposed upon themselves." (*Reflections on the Revolution in France*).

Page 48, l. 3. **He laboured hard to avert the European war.** See Lecky VI., chap. xxii., "It is certain beyond all reasonable doubt that Pitt sincerely and earnestly desired peace with France; that from the outbreak of the Revolution to the death of Louis XVI. he abstained from any kind of interference with her internal concerns; that he never favoured directly or indirectly the attacks of Austria and Prussia upon her; that he again and again announced, in the most formal terms, the determination of England to remain neutral in the struggle, and especially to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of France. All the schemes of policy to which he had especially attached his reputation and his ambition, depended for their success upon the continuance of peace, and there is overwhelming evidence, that, until an advanced period in 1792, the English Government had no doubt that they could keep clear of the contest and had made no adequate preparations for a war."

l. 6. **In the spring of 1792 he congratulated the Parliament on the prospect of long and profound peace, and proved his sincerity by proposing large remissions of taxes.** It is in February, 1792, that we obtain the most remarkable view of his mind on the subject. It was then that he delivered that famous survey of the finance of the country which has been noticed as the exception to his

commonplace budgets of these four years. In it he repealed taxes, he added to the Sinking Fund, he reduced the previous vote for seamen by 2000 men—from 18,000 to 16,000—he declined to renew the subsidy for the Hessian mercenaries. And to raise hopes of further reductions he declared that "Unquestionably there never was a time in the history of this country when from the situation of Europe we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than at the present moment" (Rosebery, p. 121).

l. 13. **The Republicans ... the Mussulmans, who, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other.** The Revolutionists offered "La Fraternité ou la mort," as the Mohammedans offered the Koran or the sword.

Mussulmans is really a double plural for Mussulman = *Moslemin*, plural of *Moslem*, a Mohammedan, so called from the Arabic *muslim*, a believer.

Korân or Al-Korân (the reading) is the religious, social, civil, commercial, and legal code of Islam. It is said that portions of this book were communicated to the prophet at Mecca and Medina by the angel Gabriel, with the sound of bells.

l. 16. **eastward to the Bay of Bengal.** The Mohammedans penetrated into India, where about 20 per cent. of the population are of their religion still.

l. 17. **westward to the Pillars of Hercules,** *i.e.* the Straits of Gibraltar, at the neck of which stood the projecting rocks of Calpe on the European, and Abyla on the African coast, generally regarded by the ancients as the *Herculis columnae*, Pillars of Hercules.

The Saracens (Mohammedans) conquered both Morocco and Spain on either side of the Straits about 710-714 A.D.

ll. 19, 20. **the Crusaders who raised the cry of "Deus vult" at Clermont.** Deus vult, "It is the will of God!" was the shout of the nobles at the Council of Clermont in France in response to the preaching of Peter the Hermit and the appeal of the Pope for vengeance on the infidels who had seized the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The Pope gave back these words to the warriors as a battle-cry against the heathen, while he bade them wear on back and breast the cross as the sacred symbol of their service; and hence they won the name Crusader.

l. 32, etc. **he should have taken the advice of Burke ... He should have proclaimed a holy war,** etc. Let it, however, be remembered to what the policy of Burke in its full extent would lead. Look to his *Thoughts on a Regicide Peace*. See how we might deduce from them the duty of making no terms with France unless the Bourbons were restored—of shunning as a pestilence such a pacification as we attempted at Lille, and actually achieved at Amiens. Surely that is not the course which a philosophic historian of the nineteenth century, writing

with a clear view of the succeeding events, is prepared to recommend. Nor should it be forgotten that he who preaches a crusade stirs up not only the good but also the evil passions of a people. Had Pitt chosen to exchange the part of statesman for that of Peter the Hermit, he might no doubt have aroused in England a frenzy against the Jacobins almost equal to theirs against kings and princes . . . would not, in such a case, the memory of Pitt be deeply tarnished with blood—blood not shed in foreign warfare, but in strife and seditions at home? . . . . Would it have been possible "to proclaim a holy war" which Pitt is arraigned for not proclaiming, and at the same time to avoid "the Alien Bills and Gagging Bills" which Pitt is arraigned for having passed? (Stanhope, ii. 4, etc.)

Page 49, l. 15. **Madame de Pompadour.** Jeanne Antoinette Poisson was the daughter of a butcher, and the wife of M. D'Elioles; she became the mistress of Louis XV., and was created Marchioness of Pompadour in 1745. (B. 1721, d. at Versailles, 1764.)

l. 16. **Abbé de Bernis** (b. at St. Marcel, 1715, d. at Rome, 1794), became a Cardinal and Archbishop of Albi; he was indebted to the Marchioness de Pompadour for his preferments in church and state.

l. 19. **assignat**, a public note or bill issued by the revolutionary government of France.

l. 22. **Alboin**, a king of Lombardy, who conquered Italy in 568.

l. 24. **exchequer bills** and treasury bills are loans payable at a fixed period of short duration, from three months and upwards, and bearing very insignificant interest, *e.g.* ½ per cent. In England they date from the reign of William and Mary and became extinct in 1897.

Attila, the king of the Huns, "the Scourge of God," who in the fifth century carried war and devastation over the whole of Western Europe.

l. 27. **Great as Pitt's abilities were, his military administration was that of a driveller**, etc. "We are required to believe that a statesman acknowledged as preminently great in peace, became at once ridiculously little in war. Yet in truth History bears no Magician's wand and displays scarce any of such sudden and surprising changes. No doubt that during Pitt's administration there were many miscarriages by land to set against our victories at sea. The same fate attended all the armies which at that period were arrayed against France. It was no easy matter to prevail over a nation at all times most brave and warlike, and then inflamed to a preternatural strength by its revolutionary ardour. When, therefore, the English army is declared to have been at that period the laughing-stock of Europe, it may be

asked what other European army had permanently enjoyed better fortune or was justly entitled to smile at ours." Thus does Lord Stanhope defend Pitt against this charge. He points out that the military failures here laid to the charge of Pitt continued long after Pitt had ceased to be, *e.g.* the expedition to Walcheren; that our generals at that time were anything but men of genius; and that there was no one to lead our armies to victory till Wellington arose. (See Stanhope, ii. p. 4, etc.)

Whether he was a great war-minister, as he is generally considered, or an incapable war-minister, as he is called by Macaulay, he is certainly the most strenuous peace-minister that ever held office in this country (Rosebery, p. 128).

l. 35. **Richelieu**, Armand du Plessis de (b. at Paris, 1585, d. 1642), a celebrated French Cardinal and Statesman, Secretary of State to Louis XIII.; he was distinguished for his ambition and cruelty, his persecution of the Calvinists, the capture of Rochelle, and his efforts to humble the house of Austria, at that time the greatest power in Europe.

Louvois, Francis Michel Letellier, Marquis de (b. at Paris, 1641, d. 1691), the Prime Minister of Louis XIV., was distinguished for the devastation of the Palatinate, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

l. 36. **Chatham.** (See the first paragraph of this book.)

Wellesley, Richard Colley, Marquis (b. at Dublin, 1760, d. in London, 1842), won distinction in India by victories at Malavelly, Seringapatam, Assaye, and Laswaree.

Page 50, l. 4. **Blenheim**, an allusion to the victory of Marlborough over the French in Bavaria in 1704.

l. 5. **Ramilies**, an allusion to Marlborough's victory over the French in the Netherlands in 1706.

Poitiers, the victory of Edward, the Black Prince, over the King of France in 1356.

l. 11. **the American War** resulting in the Independence of the United States (1775-1782).

the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), in which England and France contended for the supremacy in America and in India, was terminated by the Peace of Paris.

l. 12. **the war of the Austrian Succession** broke out in 1740 on the death of Emperor Charles VI., when Frederick II. seized Silesia, and England supported the claims of Maria Theresa against France, Spain, Prussia, and Bavaria. It was terminated by the Peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748.

the war of the Spanish Succession began in 1702 and was ended in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. We were fighting to secure the Crown of Spain for an Austrian Prince.

l. 13. **the English army. under Pitt. was the laughing-stock of all Europe**, *vid.* p. 49, l. 27, and note.

ll. 17, 18. **some sugar island in the West Indies**, Tobago.

l. 32, etc. **Fortunately he was succeeded by George Earl Spencer.** There is no doubt that Lord Spencer at the Admiralty was an excellent adminstrator. There is no doubt that Lord Chatham (Pitt's elder brother) was far from a good one. Still, however, Lord Macaulay's statement, as I have cited it, does not seem to recognise the fact that the greatest of our naval victories at that period—the battle of the First of June—was fought not with Lord Spencer, but with Lord Chatham at the head of the Admiralty Board. But, waving that point, is this the one weight and one measure? When our armies retreat, the Prime Minister is solely to be blamed! When our fleets prevail, the Prime Minister is to have no share in the praise! (Stanhope, ii. p. 7).

Page 51, l. 24. **Lodi** in N. Italy. Napoleon Bonaparte commanding the French army, totally defeated the Austrians under Beaulieu, after a bloody engagement at the bridge of Lodi, 10th May, 1796.

Arcola, in Lombardy, was the site of battles between the French under Napoleon, and Austrians under Alvinozi, 14-17th November, 1796.

Rivoli, near Verona in N. Italy. Near here the Austrians defeated the French, 17th November, 1196, and were defeated by Bonaparte, 14th, 15th January, 1797.

l. 25. **Marengo** in N. Italy. Here the French army, under Bonaparte, after crossing the Alps into Piedmont, attacked the Austrians, 14th June, 1800: the French were retreating when the arrival of General Dessaix turned the fortunes of the day. The slaughter on both sides was dreadful.

Page 52, l. 5. **Duke of Portland.** (See p. 15, l. 29, *supra*, and note.)

l. 7, etc. **Fox had retired to the shades of St. Anne's Hill**, at Chertsey.

l. 9. **friends whom no vicissitude could estrange from him.** Private friends discharged his debts in 1793 and settled an annuity of £3000 on him (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

l. 10. **a woman whom he tenderly loved.** In 1795 he married Mrs. Armistead, a lady with whom he had lived for some time.

l. 11. **the illustrious dead of Athens, of Rome, and of Florence.** He spent his time at St. Anne's Hill in literary study; he not only read Greek, Latin, and Italian classics but he also wrote a history of England from the reign of James II.

l. 21. **The Habeas Corpus Act was repeatedly suspended.** If any person be imprisoned by the order of any court or by the King himself, he may have a writ of habeas corpus, to bring him before the court of the King's Bench or Common Pleas, which shall determine whether his committal be just. This Act (31, Charles II., ch. 2, 27th May, 1679) is next in importance to Magna Charta.

The Habeas Corpus Act can be suspended by parliament for a specified time when the emergency is extreme. In such a case the nation parts with a portion of its liberty to secure its own permanent welfare, and suspected persons may then be arrested without cause or purpose being assigned, *e.g.*

It was suspended for French revolution, - - - - - 1794
" " in Ireland, on account of the great rebellion, - - - - - - - - - - 1798
It was suspended in England, 28th August, - - - 1799
" " in England, 24th April, - - - 1801
" " on account of Irish rebellion, - - 1803

l. 26. **Writers ... punished without mercy.** Throughout the country many persons concerned in the book or newspaper trades were brought to trial, and convicted for either reprinting or selling Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, and his *Addresses to the Addressers*. Amongst them were Mr. James Ridgway of London, Mr. Daniel Holt of Newark, and Mr. Richard Phillips of Leicester. A Dissenting Minister of Plymouth, Mr. William Winterbotham was found guilty of some seditious expressions in two sermons which he had preached. Another prosecution was directed against Messrs Lambert, Perry, and Gray as printers and proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle*. The charge against them was for inserting the address of a political society at Derby, which heaped opprobrious terms on all the institutions of the country.

l. 30, etc. **The old laws of Scotland against sedition ... Botany Bay.** Thomas Muir, a Scottish advocate, the son of a bookseller at Glasgow, took an active part in politics as a speaker at public meetings, and as a member of the Society called "The Friends of the People." Finding a charge of sedition brought against him, he retired to France, and underwent a sentence of outlawry. Subsequently he returned, by way of Ireland, to his native country, was discovered and arrested at Port Patrick. He was indicted for having published, by distributing several seditious works, particularly those of Thomas Paine, and also for seditious words and speeches. He was found guilty, and the Lord Justice Clerk, M'Queen of Braxfield, sentenced him to be transported to Botany Bay for 14 years. Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer, a writer and preacher of the Unitarian party, and a resident at Dundee, having distributed some papers of a sedi-

tious character, was brought to trial before the Circuit Court of Justiciary in Perth. The main defence of Mr. Palmer was made up of the usual topics—assertions that his objects were limited to Parliamentary Reform, and extracts from the early speeches of Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Richmond. The verdict was "Guilty," and the sentence, transportation for seven years. (See Stanhope, ii. p. 23, etc.) **Botany Bay.** Port Jackson, in Botany Bay, New South Wales, was first used as a place of penal exile in May, 1787.

Page 53, l. 1, etc. **Some Reformers**, etc. Lord Stanhope gives the names of eight persons members of "The Corresponding Society," and "The Society for Constitutional Information," who were seized in London, and after examination before the Privy Council were sent to the Tower. Thomas Hardy, Secretary to the Corresponding Society, and a shoemaker by trade; Daniel Adams, Secretary to the Constitutional Society, and lately a clerk in the auditor's office; John Horne Tooke, so well known from his former controversies in the days of Junius, and during the American War; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Lord Stanhope, and tutor to his sons. Mr. Joyce is still remembered as the author of the *Scientific Dialogues* in four volumes, which appeared between 1800 and 1802, and which convey a great amount of knowledge in a very agreeable form. There was also John Thelwell of some note as a political lecturer. The others were John Augustus Bonney, John Richter, and John Lovell. (See Stanhope, ii. p. 37, etc., and p. 66, etc.) The trial lasted eight days. Sir John Scott, as Attorney-General, prosecuted, Mr. Erskine defended, and the Jury's verdict was "Not Guilty."

l. 26, etc. **The manner in which the Roman Catholic population ... had been kept down**, etc. To the mind of Pitt the whole system of penal laws was utterly abhorrent. He had reflected much on the position of the sister island, and desired to see both islands closely bound together on the footing of equal laws and equal rights. (See Stanhope, ii. p. 73, etc.)

l. 34. **the rebellion of 1798.** The Republicans, under Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor and Oliver Bond organised an insurrection in Ireland. At the beginning of 1798 they were all arrested. In spite of the capture of their leaders, the insurgents rose in Wexford, and posted themselves on a strong position at Vinegar Hill from which they were driven by General Lake only after a regular battle.

Page 54, ll. 3, 4. **the risings of 1641 and 1689.** (*a*) The removal of the iron hand of Strafford (by execution in May, 1641), and the confusion in England encouraged the Irish of Ulster, who had long smarted under the loss of their independence, the proscription of their religion, and the confiscation of their property,

to strike a blow against their conquerors. The native Irish of Ulster rose and massacred large numbers of the Protestant settlers.

(*b*) James II.'s preference for the Catholics made his policy popular in Ireland, but the land question rankled still in the minds of the people, and early in the reign of William and Mary (in 1689), an opportunity was taken to attack the English, and strike another blow for Irish independence. James himself landed at Kinsale and put himself at the head of the movement; then followed the siege of Londonderry and of Enniskillen (1689), the battles of the Boyne and Beachy Head (1690), and the siege and Treaty of Limerick in 1691.

l. 4. **The Englishry remained victorious** at Vinegar Hill. (See p. 53, l. 34, *supra*, note.)

l. 6. **Oliver Cromwell.** The Commons dared not supply Charles I. with an army to quell the rising of 1641; then the Civil War broke out in England; and in 1643 Charles made a truce with the Irish rebels. In 1649 the Irish rebels and the Royalists were making common cause against the Parliamentarians in Dublin; General Jones defeated the Royalist Ormond at Rathmines near Dublin; then Cromwell himself reached Ireland, marched on Drogheda, stormed the town, and put the garrison to the sword; he treated Wexford with similar severity; other towns then surrendered at the first summons; and law and order were enforced with a stern hand.

William of Orange landed in Ireland in the summer of 1690, and was present at the battle of the Boyne; and at the end of the war he found it expedient to restore the government of Ireland to the Protestants, and the disabilities of the Catholics were made heavier than before.

l. 11. **He determined to make Ireland one kingdom with England**, etc. With this paragraph one should read chapter xi. of Lord Rosebery's *Pitt*.

l. 18. **the old Parliament in College Green.** College Green is in front of Trinity College, Dublin. The old Parliament House is the present Chief Office of the Bank of Ireland.

l. 32. **traitors and sycophants in high places**, viz.: Lord Loughborough (the Chancellor); Lord Auckland (Post-Master General); Dr. Moore (Archbishop of Canterbury); Hon. Dr. William Stuart (Primate of Ireland). (See Stanhope, ii. p. 386, etc.)

Page 55, l. 1, etc. **His Majesty absurdly imagined that his coronation oath ... metaphysics.** The King also was much in favour of the scheme. "I only hope," he said to Dundas about this time, "Government is not pledged to anything in favour of the Roman Catholics." "No," the minister replied, "it will be

a matter for future consideration"; and on the King going on to allege his scruples upon the Coronation Oath, he endeavoured to explain that this Oath applied to his Majesty only in his executive capacity, and not as part of the Legislature. But George the Third angrily rejoined: "None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas! none of your Scotch metaphysics!"

l. 6. **Pitt, and Pitt's ablest colleagues, resigned,** viz.: Lord Grenville, Windham, Dundas, Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh.

l. 19. **To that party, weak in numbers, but strong in every kind of talent.** Fox's.

l. 35. **He had been an early, indeed a hereditary, friend of Pitt,** etc. Addington, the new Prime Minister, was a friend of the King's, and a sort of foster-brother of Pitt's. The son of the respected family physician, who had prescribed colchicum to the elder and port to the younger Pitt. Addington carried into politics the indefinable air of a village apothecary inspecting the tongue of the state. His parts were slender and his vanity prodigious (Rosebery, p. 229, etc.).

Page 56, l. 3. **Onslow.** Arthur, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1728. During three-and-thirty years he filled that chair with higher merit, probably, than anyone either before or after him—with unequalled partiality, dignity, and courtesy. He retired in 1761, and a vote was then passed acknowledging his services in the fullest terms, and another entreating the crown to grant him some signal mark of its favour.

l. 24. **a peace with France,** the treaty of Amiens.

l. 29. **Bonaparte, now First Consul.** On his return from Syria he found the Directory in discredit with the nation, and placed himself at the head of affairs; he, Cambacérès and Lebrun, were made Consuls in December, 1799, and in May of the following year he became First Consul for 10 years with a salary of half a million francs, with a sole power of nominating the Council of State, the Ministers, Ambassadors, officers of army and fleet, and most of the judges and local officials, and with a power in nominal conjunction with the other Consuls of initiating all legislation, and deciding war and peace.

l. 31. **a new ecclesiastical establishment,** the restored church, resting on the concordat.

a new order of knighthood, the Legion of Honour established 29 Floréal, An. X. (May 19, 1802), whose ranks were to be filled only by men of merit.

Page 57, l. 1. **The treaty of Amiens.** The preliminary articles were signed on 1st October, 1801, the definitive treaty, 27th March, 1802. We restored all the Colonies we had taken except Trinidad and Ceylon, and agreed to give up Malta to the

Knights of St. John; the fisheries in Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence were to be replaced on the same footing as before the war, and Egypt was given back to Turkey. It was a prolonged armistice rather than a treaty of peace, for war was declared again in 1803.

l. 6. **The old opposition,** Fox and his followers.

ll. 8, 9. **Grenville in the House of Lords and Windham in the House of Commons** were furious against the peace. They were joined by Lord Spencer.

ll. 10, 11. **the new opposition could scarcely muster ten votes,** because Addington's government had succeeded to Pitt's majority, which they maintained at a general election in 1802; for Pitt had pressed all those whom he could influence to join the Administration.

ll. 18, 19. **In Parliament he took his seat on the bench behind them.** In the House of Commons, whenever Pitt attended, he took his seat—as Mr. Abbot at the time describes it—"on the right hand of the chair, in the third row from the floor, and in the angle next one of the iron pillars." Many years afterwards, in the former House of Commons, I have seen old members point out the very place with something of a reverent feeling (Stanhope, ii. p. 423).

l. 25 etc. **it was hardly possible ... that this union should be durable,** etc. Cf. with this paragraph Rosebery, p. 235. "Both men were surrounded with friends, whose interest it was to set them against each other. Addington's followers saw that they could only keep their places under this administration, and by the exclusion of Pitt. Pitt's followers were indignant that his post should be so inadequately filled. There were, moreover, little causes of irritation; want of zeal in defence, inspired pamphlets, the petty political smarts so easily inflamed into blisters by the timely assistance of toadies. The Whigs of course stimulated Addington with extravagant eulogy to prevent his thinking of making way for Pitt; and the minister purred under the process.

l. 36. **In retirement his days passed heavily.** On the other hand Rosebery (p. 285) says "the three years which Pitt spent out of place and almost out of Parliament seem to have been the happiest of his life." . . . Pitt could well remain in contented quiet at Walmer. That repose was greatly needed for his health, which gave way in 1798, and now continued slowly declining to the end. . . . In September, 1802, he was quite seriously ill. But his enjoyment of Walmer was intense. No 'disencumbered Atlas of the State' ever returned to country life with a keener relish. Shooting and laying out his grounds, and the society of a very few old friends were his main amusements, and perhaps he was equal to no more. But in the summer of 1803, the appre-

hension of a French invasion gave a noble employment to his active mind ... he raised and drilled a volunteer corps of 3000 men," etc., etc.

Page 58, ll. 1, 2. He could not, like Fox, forget the pleasures and cares of ambition in the company of Euripides or Herodotus. Why not? "We possess a graphic account of the little sitting-dining room at Hollwood, with the long easy chair on which the weary minister would throw himself, below the hanging shelf of volumes, among which a thumbed and dog-eared Virgil was specially paramount. His rooms at Hollwood and Walmer, says one of his friends, were strewn with Latin and Greek classics. Lord Grenville, a consummate judge, declared that Pitt was the best Greek scholar he ever conversed with," etc., etc. (Rosebery, p. 272.)

"When retired from office, and living in great part at Walmer Castle, Pitt, like Fox, reverted with much relish, although in a desultory manner, to his books. The classics, Greek and Latin, seemed to be, as my father told me, Pitt's favourite reading at that period" (Stanhope, i. 198).

l. 10. **Abou Hassan**, a rich merchant, was transferred during sleep to the bed and palace of the caliph, Haroun-al-Raschid. Next morning he was treated as the caliph, and every effort was made for a day to make him forget his identity.

l. 12. **Caliphate.** Caliph or calif is a title given to the successors of Mohammed. Among the Saracens a caliph is one vested with supreme dignity. The caliphat of Bagdad reached its highest splendour under Haroun-al-Raschid in the nineteenth century. For the last 200 years the appellation has been swallowed up in the titles of Shah, Sultan, Emir, and so on. (Arabic *calafa*, to succeed.)

l. 14. **triumvirate**, a coalition of three great men to rule the state, cf. that of Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus at Rome (60 B.C.), and that of Octavius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Lepidus (43 B.C.), and that of George Grenville, Lord Egremont, and Lord Halifax in 1763.

ll. 20-22. **representing him as a lacquey, sent to keep a place ... till his master.. come.** It is related in Lord Malmesbury's journal that, when the new Prime Minister saw Lord Granville Leveson on this occasion (of his retiring from the Treasury), he spoke of himself as "only a sort of *locum tenens* for Pitt." But probably Lord Malmesbury did no more than transcribe a current but much exaggerated rumour of the day. (See Stanhope, ii. 404.)

l. 35. **His favourite disciple, George Canning**, etc. In this single sentence Macaulay has sketched the character of Mr. Canning. Lord Rosebery writes of the friendship between Pitt and Canning thus: "Canning Pitt loved as a son. There is

nothing more human in Pitt's life than the account of his affectionate solicitude and absorption at Canning's marriage. Canning's love for Pitt was something combined of the sentiments of a son, a friend, and a disciple" (p. 264).

Page 59, l. 4. **round robin**, a written petition or memorial signed by names in a ring, so that it may not be known who originated it. (Perhaps a corruption of *round* and *ribbon*.)

l. 6. **pasquinade**, a lampoon, satire. Formerly also *pasquil*, from Fr. *pasquille*, "a pas-quill" (Cot). "F. *pasquin*, the name of an image or post in Rome whereon libels and defamatory rimes are fastened and fathered; also a pasquill" (Cot). It. *pasquino*, "a statue in Rome on which all libels are fathered" (Florio). Whence *pasquinata*, a libel, the original of F. *pasquinade*. "In the 16th century, at the stall of a cobbler called Pasquin (Pasquino) at Rome, a number of idle persons used to assemble to listen to his pleasant sallies, and to relate little anecdotes in their turn, and indulge themselves in raillery at the expense of the passers-by. After the cobbler's death the statue of a gladiator was found near his stall, to which the people gave his name, and on which the wits of the time secretly, at night, affixed their lampoons" (Haydn, *Dict. of Dates*). "The statue still stands at the corner of the Palazzo Bracchi, near the Piazza Navona." Note in Gloss. to Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, ed. Wright (Skeat). Canning's Pasquinades, in which he satirizes Addington unmercifully, appeared in *The Oracle*. This kind of cheap wit and personal attack is regarded as lacking all good taste, except when directed against political personages.

l. 13. **Marlborough**. (See p. 26, l. 32, *supra*, and note.)

Turenne (b. at Sedan, 1611; d. killed by a cannon-ball at Sassbach, 1675), a celebrated French general. As Marshal of all the armies in 1667 he had the honour of instructing Louis XIV. in the art of war. He served in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Germany, and always with distinction: his chief victories were at Nordlingen, Zumulhausen, Dunkirk, Mulhausen, and Turckheim.

l. 17. **the treaty of Amiens**. (See p. 57, l. 1, *supra*, and note.)

l. 26. **Lewis the Great**. Louis XIV. of France, Le Grand Monarque.

l. 27. **Frederick the Great**. Frederick II. of Prussia.

l. 36. **Dunkirk**, in N. France. At the siege of this town the Duke of York was defeated by Hoche and forced to retire 7th Sep., 1793.

Quiberon, on the west coast of France, was taken by some French regiments in the pay of England, 3rd July, 1795; but on 22nd July, through treachery, the French republicans under Hoche retook it by surprise, and many emigrants were executed.

About 900 of the troops, and nearly 1500 royalist inhabitants, who had joined the regiments in the pay of England, escaped on board the ships.

l. 36. **Helder** Point (Holland). The fort and the Dutch fleet lying in the Texel surrendered to the British under the Duke of York and Sir Ralph Abercromby, for the Prince of Orange, after a conflict in which 540 British were killed, 30th Aug., 1799. But the place was abandoned in October, when the Duke of York was defeated at Alknaer, and he entered into a convention by which his army was exchanged for 6000 French and Dutch prisoners in England.

Page 60, l. 7. **some insignificant nobleman should be First Lord of the Treasury.** Lord Chatham was to be Prime Minister, a recognition of primogeniture which may fairly be called extravagant (Rosebery, p. 235).

l. 15, etc. **He offered to resign the Treasury to Pitt, on condition that there should be no extensive change in the government. But Pitt would listen to no such terms.** He offered the Premiership to Pitt . . . but begged that Grenville, Spencer, and Windham should not be included in the new Cabinet, as they had spoken disrespectfully of himself. Pitt declined all exclusions.

l. 31. **In retirement**, at Walmer, as Warden of the Cinque Ports.

l. 32. **a general election**, in 1802.

Page 61, l. 6. **John William Ward**, the first Earl of Dudley, and 4th Viscount of Dudley. Ward had considerable talents as a writer; he wrote articles for the *Quarterly Review*, *e.g.* an estimate of Horne Tooke, a review of Rogers' *Columbus*, and an article on Fox.

ll. 14-17. **Fox replied**, etc. Fox says simply of this speech, "The truth is, it was my best."

l. 24. **a great camp near the Straits of Dover**, at Boulogne.

l. 29. **the conjuncture of 1660**, the Restoration of the monarchy in England.

l. 29. **The conjuncture of 1688**, the Revolution, the abdication of James II. and Declaration of William and Mary as King and Queen of England.

l. 35. **the coalition of 1783**, between Fox and North, see p. 17, l. 20, etc., *supra*.

Page 62, l. 13. **The party which had opposed the peace, headed by Grenville and Windham.** (See p. 57, ll. 7-9, *supra*, and note.)

l. 32. **the Scotch representative peers wavered**, *e.g.* the Earl of Moira, the Duke of Buccleugh, and the Lord Advocate—Mr. Charles Hope.

l. 33. **In the Cabinet itself there was discord, and, worse than discord, treachery.** The Chancellor with the prescience then inherent in the woolsack prepared for a change. In March, Eldon sent a communication to Pitt, and they met (Rosebery, p. 239).

Page 63, l. 12. **gagging bills.** (See p. 45, l. 30, *supra*.)

l. 13. **suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act.** (See p. 52, l. 32, *supra*, and note.)

l. 21. **to Fox he proposed to assign a share of power little inferior to his own.** Two out of the three Secretaryships of State were to be made over to Fox and Fitzwilliam (Rosebery, p. 240).

l. 28. **Sheridan, Grey,** and **Erskine,** were all of them in Lord Grenville's Cabinet in 1806, Grey (afterwards Lord Howick), as First Lord of the Admiralty, Erskine as Lord Chancellor and Sheridan without office.

l. 36. **the immutable resolution of Lord Grenville.** Grenville and Fox assisted, in spite of the King's dislike of Fox, to form the Ministry of "all the Talents" in 1806.

Page 64. ll. 5-15. **Fox ... Court.** The new minister at once communicated the result to Fox and Grenville. Their answers were characteristic. The life-long enemy said that he did not care for office, but he hoped that his friends would join Pitt. The life-long friend, colleague, and kinsman persuaded Fox's friends to stand aloof, and stood aloof himself. It was the finest moment of Fox's life, and not the most auspicious of Grenville's (Rosebery, p. 241).

ll. 16, 17. **a government out of the wreck of Addington's feeble administration.** Pitt's new Cabinet has been called "the new administration composed of William and Pitt."

ll. 19, 20. **Dundas, who had been created Viscount Melville,** was much less intimate with Pitt than in the former Cabinet, presumably because he had accepted a peerage from Addington and undertaken to be his emissary to Walmer (Rosebery, p. 245).

Lord Harrowby was made Foreign Secretary, and twice afterwards refused the Premiership.

Canning. (See p. 58, l. 35, *supra*, and note.)

l. 21. **Such was the inauspicious manner in which Pitt entered on his second administration.** So began Pitt's Hundred Days; for his second Administration can only be compared to that second impotent reign of Napoleon's after their triumphant dictatorships (Rosebery, p. 245.)

ll. 29, 30. **Lord Melville had been guilty of highly culpable laxity in transactions relating to public money.** He was now First Lord of the Admiralty; he had been for many years Treasurer to the Navy. It was proved that his paymaster had

used the public balances for his private purposes. Melville admitted that he had sometimes as a confidential Minister of the Crown advanced monies from these balances for the purposes of secret service. The Opposition alleged that he had used these sums to his own profit; but of this charge there was never the slightest proof, nor indeed any probability. Still he had shown blamable laxity in a matter which requires the nicest precision of scruple (Rosebery, p. 249).

ll. 33, 34. **The blow fell heavily on Pitt**, etc. It was the greatest blow he had ever received. Some have ascribed his death to Ulm and some to Austerlitz; but if the mortal blow was triple, the first stab was the fall of Dundas. "We can get over Austerlitz," he said to Huskisson at Bath, "but we can never get over the Tenth Report" (Rosebery, p. 261).

Page 65, l. 2. **Eldon**, John Scott, Earl of, was an M.A. of Oxford, a barrister of the Middle Temple, M.P. for Weobley (1782), Chancellor of the Bishopric and County Palatine of Durham (1787), Solicitor-General (1788), Attorney-General (1788), Chief Justice and Baron Eldon (1799), Lord Chancellor (1801-1827). In 1821 he was created Viscount Encombe and Earl of Eldon. (B. at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1751, d. 1838.)

ll. 9, 10. **At one time Addington was persuaded to accept office with a peerage; but he brought no additional strength to the government.** Addington became Viscount Sidmouth, and President of the Council. "An ex-premier is usually found by any Cabinet, in which he may serve as an ordinary member, to be a fleeting and dangerous luxury, Addington was no exception to the rule" (Rosebery, p. 251).

l. 26. **the Austerlitz look.** Melville and Ulm bore heavily on Pitt, and Austerlitz killed him; death was in his face.

ll. 30, 31. **another mighty coalition ... The united forces of Austria, Russia, and England.** He had been maturing a gigantic alliance, which should employ the fleets and treasure of England, and the vastest armies that Russia, Prussia, and Austria could put into the field. He commenced with Russia. On the 11th of April, 1804, a treaty was concluded at St. Petersburg. Five hundred thousand men were to be arrayed against France. Great Britain was to contribute ships and men and money. On the 9th of August, Austria signified her adherence. This was the Third Coalition. Prussia, ruled by covetous incapacities wavered; and was wavering when the coalition was crushed. So she escaped that fall; but a worse fate awaited her (Rosebery, 253).

Page 66, l. 4. **Ulm**, in Wurtemburg, S. Germany. The Austrians, under General Mack, were defeated with terrible loss by the French under Marshal Ney. Ulm surrendered with 28,000 men, the flower of the Austrian army, 17-20th October, 1805.

l. 15. **Trafalgar,** a cape in S. Spain, off which Nelson, with twenty-seven ships, defeated the combined fleets of France and Spain (18 French, 15 Spanish ships) under Admiral Villeneuve and two Spanish Admirals, 21st October, 1805. But Nelson was killed.

l. 17. **that most glorious and most mournful of victories.** This consummate achievement was overbought by the death of England's greatest warrior. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Trafalgar is inscribed as a victory in the Museum of Arms at Madrid unto this day (Rosebery, 255).

l. 24. **he returned thanks in two or three of those stately sentences of which he had a boundless command.** The noblest, tersest, and last of all his speeches was only three sentences: "I return you many thanks for the honour you have done me. But Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example."

l. 31. **Austerlitz,** in Moravia, where the French, under Napoleon, defeated the Austrians under Emperor Francis, and the Russians, under Emperor Alexander, on 2nd December, 1805. The killed and wounded exceeded 30,000 on the side of the allies, who lost 40 standards, 150 pieces of cannon, and thousands of prisoners. This decisive victory of the French led to the Treaty of Presburg, signed 26th December, 1805.

Page 67, l. 1. **the coalition** between England, Austria, and Russia. (See p. 65, ll. 30, 31, *supra*.)

l. 6. **his villa at Putney** exists still, and is known as "Bowling Green House."

ll. 17, 18. **On the day on which he was carried into his bedroom,** on Saturday, 11th January.

ll. 22, etc. **The friends saw each other once more,** etc., on Tuesday, 14th January.

ll. 27-30. **a warm and discerning eulogium on the Marquess's brother Arthur,** etc. Lord Stanhope continues the eulogium thus: "He states every difficulty before he undertakes any service, but none after he has undertaken it."

Page 68, l. 6. **Lord Henry Petty,** afterwards Lord Lansdowne, President of the Council in Lord Grey's Ministry (1830-1834), he was also in Lord Palmerston's cabinet (1855-1858) without office; Macaulay wrote this biography between November 1857 and 9th August, 1858.

l. 11, etc. **Lord Grenville, who had been informed of Pitt's state by Lord Wellesley,** etc. Wellesley had felt it his duty, on leaving Putney, to go to Lord Grenville and warn him that Pitt was at the point of death. Wellesley found him drafting resolu-

tions of censure, and concerting the fiercest opposition to the minister. On hearing the news Grenville broke into a passion of grief. It is difficult to test the temperature of tears, but it is easy to believe that these were both bitter and sincere (Rosebery, p. 257).

ll. 16, 17. **Sunt lacrymæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.** *Aen.*, i. 462, which may be paraphrased "Life has tears, men's woes touch the heart."

l. 31. **Grub Street elegies.** Grub Street is a London street existing still, but long known as Milton Street; it is in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and runs from Fore Street to Chiswell Street. Johnson explains it as "the name of a street in London much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems."

ll. 33, 34. "O my country!" **This is a fable.** Can it be possible that Macaulay had heard the version afterwards confided to Mr. Disraeli by one of the waiters in the House of Commons and repeated by Lord Rosebery in Appendix D. p. 297? "You hear many lies told as history, sir," said the waiter, "do you know what Mr. Pitt's last words were?" "Of course," said Mr. Disraeli, "they are well known—'O my country! How I love my country!'" for that was then the authorised version. "Nonsense," said the old servant, "I'll tell you how it was. Late one night I was called out of bed by a messenger in a post-chaise, shouting to me outside the window. 'What is it?' I said, 'You've to get up and dress and bring some of your veal pies down to Mr. Pitt at Putney.' So I went; and as we drove along he told me that Mr. Pitt had not been able to take any food, but had sudddenly said, 'I think I could eat one of Bellamy's veal pies.' And so I was sent for post haste. When we arrived Mr. Pitt was dead. These was his last words: 'I think I could eat one of Bellamy's veal pies.'" (See Rosebery, Appendix D, 297.)

Page 69, l. 20. **The motion was carried by 288 votes to 89.** Macaulay is not quite accurate here: Hansard quotes the figures as 258 votes to 89, and both Lord Stanhope and Lord Rosebery have adopted Hansard's figures. The motion was proposed by the Hon. Henry Lascelles and seconded by the Marquis of Titchfield; it was in these words: "That his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of the Right Honourable William Pitt be interred at the public charge; and that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminister, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss, and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good the expense attending the same."

ll. 22, 23. **the Painted Chamber** was so called from the rows of fine pictures with which the walls were covered by Henry III.; this king employed a large number of painters to decorate his various castles and palaces, especially the palace of Westminster. For the exact position of the Painted Chamber, adjoining the old House of Lords above Guy Fawkes' cellars, and at right angles to the next House of Lords destroyed by fire in 1854, see Appendix and Plan in my Edition of Macaulay's *Essays on Chatham*, in this series.

ll. 23, 24. **the northern transept of the Abbey** called now "the statesman's aisle."

l. 27. **near also to the spot where his great rival was soon to lie.** Fox died on the 13th September of the same year (1806), and was buried so near to Pitt that Scott writes (in the introduction to *Marmion*).

> "Drop upon Fox's grave the tear
> 'Twill trickle to his rival's bier;
> O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
> And Fox's will the notes rebound."

l. 32, etc. **Wilberforce ... glory.** Macaulay has blended two remarks into one. "The Statue of the Father," said Wilberforce, "seemed to look with consternation at the vault which was opening to receive his favourite son." "What sepulchre," exclaimed Wellesley, who was also present, "embosoms the remains of so much excellence and so much glory."

Page 70, ll. 15-17. As first Lord of the Treasury ... near four thousand a year more. Lord Rosebery summarises Mr. Pitt's emoluments thus:

1. First Lord of the Treasury, - - -	£5,000
2. Chancellor of the Exchequer, - - -	2,452
3. Warden of the Cinque Ports, - - -	3,080
Total emoluments, -	£10,532

an excellent house in Downing Street.

ll. 28, 29. **One of those friends, the chief of a great commercial house in the city.** This was Mr. Robert Smith, M.P. for Nottingham, who was created Baron Carrington in the Irish Peerage in 1796, and Earl Carrington and Viscount Wendover in that of Great Britain in 1797.

Page 71, l. 1. **Pericles**, the distinguished Athenian general, statesman, and orator (d. B.C. 429), although the leader of the popular party, appeared but little in society or in public, reserving himself for great occasions. He was not much distinguished for private liberality; but he made amends for the popularity which he lost thus by his lavish distribution of the public money.

Macaulay might have made a happier selection when giving an example of "disinterestedness" and "dignified frugality."

De Witt, John (b. 1625, d. 1672), an illustrious Dutch statesman, Grand Pensionary of Holland, remarkable for his life-long opposition to the house of Orange, for the greatness and purity of his motives, his extraordinary energy and resource, and for his unflinching probity.

ll. 22, 23. **the Test Act** (1673) required all office-holders to take the sacrament according to the Anglican use, and to make a declaration against transubstantiation.

l. 28. **Adam Smith**, a writer on political economy and philosophy (b. 1723, d. 1790). His best known work is *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations*. He insists that labour, not money nor land, is the real source of wealth. This book is the basis of modern political economy, and of free trade principles.

ll. 32, 33. **the Charlemagne of Ariosto.** Ariosto (b. 1474, d. 1533), an Italian poet, wrote *Orlando Furioso*, which treats of the adventures of Roland, one of the Paladins of Charlemagne. In this work Ariosto assimilates the romance of chivalry to the style and models of classicism; his sole object was to make a romance that should please the generation in which he lived. "The Charlemagne of Ariosto" is equivalent, therefore, to "the Charlemagne of Romance," "the mythical Charlemagne."

l. 34. **the Charlemagne of Eginhard.** Eginhard (b. 770 (?), d. 840) wrote the most reliable account of Charlemagne that we have; it is in Latin, and entitled *Vita Caroli Magni*. The phrase, "The Charlemagne of Eginhard," is equivalent, therefore, to "the Charlemagne of History," "the genuine Charlemagne."

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

(With especial reference to incidents mentioned or alluded to in this book.)

1759 Birth of William Pitt.
Fort Niagara and Ticonderoga captured by English.
Battle of Minden.
Naval victory at Lagos.
Capture of Quebec.
Naval victory of Quibéron Bay.
Clive destroyed Dutch ships in the Hooghley.

1760 Victory at Wandewash.
George II. dies.

1760-1820 George III. King.

1761 Third Family compact.
Pitt resigns office. He obtains a pension of £3000 a year for three lives; his wife was created Baroness Chatham.

1762 War with Spain.
Duke of Newcastle resigns office.
Havannah and Manilla captured.

1762-1763 Earl of Bute Prime Minister.

1763 Peace of Paris.

1763-1765 George Grenville Minister.

1763. Proceedings are begun under a general warrant against Wilkes for No. 45 of the *North Briton*. He is arrested, but released under Habeas Corpus Act, on the grounds of his privilege, by Chief Justice Pratt.

Wilkes is denied his privilege by Parliament, notwithstanding remonstrances by Pitt and a protest by 17 peers. Wilkes and his printers obtain damages against the King's messengers for illegal imprisonment.

1764 Wilkes is expelled from the House of Commons. Great riots in favour of Wilkes.

1765 Stamp Act passed.

1765-1766 Marquis of Rockingham Prime Minister.

1766 Stamp Act repealed.

Pitt formed a Ministry under the Duke of Grafton as nominal chief; was raised to the peerage as Viscount Pitt and Earl of Chatham.

1766-1768 Earl of Chatham in office.

1767 Charles Townshend taxes America.

1768-1770 Duke of Grafton Prime Minister.

1768 At the general election Wilkes, having been at the bottom of the poll for the city, is elected for Middlesex.

Riots and disturbances in favour of Wilkes. He is imprisoned for his former libels.

Massachusetts and Virginia resist taxation.

British troops quartered in Boston.

1769-1772 Letters of Junius published.

1769 (Feb. 16) Wilkes is re-elected for Middlesex.

(Feb. 17) Wilkes is declared incapable of sitting in the present Parliament by 235 to 89.

(March 16) Wilkes re-elected for Middlesex. The election declared void the next day.

(April 13) Wilkes re-elected for Middlesex (fourth time) by 1143 to 296 for Colonel Luttrell.

(April 16) Luttrell is seated in House of Commons by 197 votes to 143.

1770-1782 Lord North Prime Minister.

1770 Lord Chatham (after nearly three years' seclusion) resumed his seat in the House of Lords.

1771 Right of reporting debates acquired.

1772-1785 Warren Hastings.

Lord Mansfield decides (in Somerset's case) that English soil makes free.

1773 Tea riots in Boston.

1774 Charles James Fox is removed from office through the King's influence.

Congress meets at Philadelphia.

Clive commits suicide.

Wilkes is elected for Middlesex and allowed to take his seat. He is also elected Lord Mayor.

1775-1783 American War.

1775 Battle of Lexington.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which command the valley of the Hudson, are taken by the Colonists.

Battle of Bunker's Hill.

Grafton resigns Privy Seal; Lord George Germaine (formerly Sackville) became Colonial Secretary.

1776 British troops evacuate Boston.

(July 4) American Declaration of Independence.

1777 The English win battle of Brandywine and take Philadelphia.

Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga.

1778 France and Spain in alliance with United States.

Death of Chatham.

Thurlow becomes Lord Chancellor.

Sir George Saville passes his measure for the Relief of Roman Catholics.

1779 Anti-popish riots in Scotland.

Spain declares war against England.

French and Spanish besiege Gibraltar.

1780 Many restrictions on Irish trade are annulled.

Rodney defeats Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent.

Burke brings in his bill for economical reform.

Dunning carries his motion "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Lord George Gordon's riots against concessions to the Catholics.

Lord Cornwallis defeats the colonists at Camden and wins various successes in the Southern States.

War is declared against Holland.

1781 The Permanent Meeting Bill (Ireland) is passed amidst protests by Fox and others.

Lord Cornwallis wins the battle of Guildford, but is forced to surrender at Yorktown.

1782 Minorca is taken by the Spaniards.

Lord Rockingham Prime Minister.

Rodney defeats Count de Grasse in the West Indies.

All the former proceedings in connection with Wilkes' election for Middlesex are expunged from the journals of the House of Commons.

Pitt's motion for reform is rejected by 161 to 147.

Irish difficulties are remedied by repeal of 6 George I. and the Permanent Meeting Bill of 1781, and other concessions, whereby Ireland obtains legislative independence.

Death of Lord Rockingham.

(July 1) Lord Shelburne Prime Minister.

Fox and Burke resign. Pitt becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The siege of Gibraltar, which was defended by General Elliott against the French and Spanish, was raised.

England acknowledges the Independence of the United States.

1783 Treaty of Versailles.

The Coalition Ministry, with Duke of Portland as nominal Prime Minister.

Fox's India Bill is passed by House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords.

1783-1801 (Dec. 23) William Pitt Prime Minister.

1784 Struggle of the King and Pitt against the Opposition led by Fox and North.

Pitt's India Bill is rejected by a majority of 8.

(March) Parliament is dissolved.

(May) A new Parliament is formed with a large majority for the ministers.

Smuggling is checked by the Commutation Act reducing the duty on tea and spirits.

The India Bill is passed.

1785 Pitt proposes measures for giving commercial freedom to Ireland, but the jealousy and opposition of traders and others in the House of Commons force him to abandon them.

Pitt's motion for reform is lost by 248 to 174.

1786 Pitt passes his sinking fund, by which one million a year is to be set aside to accumulate at compound interest for the payment of the National debt.

Burke moves the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

A commercial treaty with France abolishes most of the protection duties between the two countries.

1787 The association for the abolition of the Slave Trade is formed.

1788 (Feb. 13) The trial of Warren Hastings in Westminster Hall begins.

A bill is passed for the better regulation of slave-ships.

(Nov.) The king's illness is made public.

Pitt supports the right of Parliament to settle the Regency.

Fox declares that the "heir-apparent has an inherent right to assume the reins of government."

1789 The king recovers.

(14 July) The French Revolution begins with the destruction of the Bastille.

Stockdale's trial; Erskine defends him; he is acquitted.

1790 Fox's declared sympathy with the French Revolution causes coolness between him and Burke.

The Nootka Sound incident.

Burke publishes *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

1791 Mitford's Bill, removing some of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, is passed.

Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade, supported by Pitt and Fox, is rejected by 163 to 88.

The rioters of Birmingham destroy Dr. Priestley's house.

1792 (April 23) Warren Hastings is acquitted.

A bill for the abolition of the slave trade passes the Commons, but is postponed by the Lords.

Fox's Libel Bill places the liberty of the press under the protection of juries by allowing them to decide what constitutes a libel as well as the fact.

The Society of the Friends of the People is formed to promote parliamentary reform.

Lord Thurlow resigns (after being Chancellor to every Ministry since Lord North's, except the Coalition Ministry of 1783).

Trial of Thomas Paine. He is defended by Erskine.

1793 Lord Grenville passes his Alien Act for the supervision and, if necessary, the removal of aliens.

War is declared by England against France.

England, Spain, and Holland join Austria and Prussia in the First Coalition.

The Traitorous Correspondence Act is passed.

Troops are sent to Holland and to the South of France.

Toulon is abandoned.

1794 Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is carried.

(June 1) Lord Howe gains a glorious victory over the French fleet.

The Duke of Portland and some of the old Whigs join the Ministry. A third Secretaryship of State (for War) is established. Henry Dundas becomes Secretary *for* War. Windham is Secretary *at* War.

The Duke of York is defeated at Bois-le-Duc.

Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, and others are tried for treason but acquitted.

1795 Marriage of the Prince of Wales to Caroline of Brunswick.

Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act is continued (for eight years altogether).

The Cape of Good Hope is captured.

Acquittal of Warren Hastings.

Fruitless expedition to Quiberon Bay.

Spain declares war against England.

The Treasonable Practices Bill and Seditious Meetings Bill are carried.

1796 The French expedition to Ireland is dispersed by a storm and proves a complete failure.

1797 Sir John Jervis and Nelson defeat the French and Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent.
The Bank of England stops cash payments.
(April) The mutiny at Spithead.
(May) Mutiny at the Nore.
Admiral Duncan defeats the Dutch fleet off Camperdown.
1798 Battle of the Nile.
1799 Sir Sidney Smith helps the Turks to hold Acre against Napoleon.
Pitt forms the Second Coalition; the chief members of which are England, Austria, and Russia.
The Duke of York, in command of English expedition to Holland, is defeated at Bergen.
1800 The Corresponding Societies Bill is passed.
The Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland is passed.
Malta is captured from the French.
1801 (Jan.) The first Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom meets.
Pitt proposes a measure for the relief of the Catholics. The king opposes it, and Pitt resigns.
1801-1804 Addington Prime Minister.
1801 (March) Abercromby defeats the French at Alexandria.
(April) Nelson destroys the Danish fleet off Copenhagen, and the Armed Neutrality is broken up.
1802 Treaty of Amiens.
1803 Declaration of war.
1804 Pitt, Fox, and Grenville unite against Addington.
1804-1806 Pitt Prime Minister.
Wilberforce's bill for the abolition of the slave trade passes the Commons, but is thrown out by the Lords.
Spain declares war against England.
1805 Addington joins the ministry (as Lord Sidmouth).
Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, is accused of peculation in the Navy, and is impeached.
The Third Coalition is formed against France (between England, Russia, and Austria).
Marshal Ney defeats Austrians under General Mack at Ulm.

(Oct. 21) The French and Spanish fleets are defeated off Cape Trafalgar. Death of Nelson.

(Dec. 2) Napoleon defeats the Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz.

1806 (Jan. 23) Death of William Pitt.

Grenville and Fox unite to form the ministry of "All the Talents."

Trial of Lord Melville, who is acquitted.

(Sept. 13) Death of Fox.

APPENDIX TO NOTES.

Page 22, l. 1. a singularly bold and original plan for the government of the British territories in India, etc. The party that was predominant in the House of Commons had conceived the design of using their predominance for the purpose of making it perpetual. They had conceived the design, at a time when political power depended largely on patronage, of setting up a permanent body closely connected with themselves, independent of the Crown, and independent of Parliament, in whose hands the whole of the patronage of India should be vested. The result of the measure would have been that the party at the time dominant in the House of Commons would have been able to use the predominance to pass legislation by which the predominance could be perpetuated. The people, when the issue was carried to them for their decision, condemned the act as one beyond the power of the true jurisdiction of the House of Commons. They considered it an act which the House of Lords did right to resist, and in so doing pronounced a decision that it was right in the future for the House of Lords to exercise its constitutional rights. (Extract from Lord Salisbury's speech at Grocers' Hall, 28th February, 1884.)

Page 35, l. 26. forced by poverty, etc. Dr. Birkbeck Hill pronounces this to be "a monstrous exaggeration" by Macaulay. This poverty of Gibbon would have been splendour to Johnson.

l. 34. **an aged writer of the highest eminence,** etc. Debrett's *Royal Kalendar* for 1795 shows that there were 12 Lords of the King's Bedchamber receiving each £1000 a year, and 14 Grooms of the Bedchamber receiving each £100 a year. As Burns was made a gauger, so Johnson might have been made a Lord, or at least a Groom of the Bedchamber. It is not certain that Pitt heard of the application for an increased pension. [Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, by G. B. Hill, vol. iv., p. 350 n.]

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